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**THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT
OF CHRISTIANITY**

Life and Religion Series

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY

BY
OSCAR L. JOSEPH, LITT. D.

AUTHOR OF
"THE DYNAMIC MINISTRY," "FREEDOM AND ADVANCE," "THE FAITH AND
THE FELLOWSHIP," "THE COMING DAY," ETC.

THE
HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT
OF CHRISTIANITY

OSCAR L. JOSEPH, LITT. D.

NEW YORK
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TO
ARTHUR H. YETMAN
A CHRISTIAN LAYMAN OF VISION

PREFACE

The story of Christianity's development is one of the most fascinating and remarkable ever known in history, but except in incidents or through a few outstanding personalities it is little known. It ought to be a part of every Christian thinker's equipment for life and for the meeting of life's problems. Most of the experiences which vex the earnest-minded men and women of to-day have been a part of the consciousness of earlier centuries. Those who know the answers which were given centuries ago are less inclined to regard such problems as unanswerable now.

This volume follows the development of Christianity through the church, taking note of the varied currents of opposition and stimulation within and without the church. The many movements which co-operated or conflicted with it, the problems that were faced and solved by a multitude of thinkers and seers, the difficulties that were met and overcome in the regular or unusual work of the church for peoples and nations, are considered in the light of a progressive unfolding of the truth and genius of Christianity.

The divisions of church history are largely for purposes of convenience, and the accepted classification as ancient, mediæval, and modern is more or less of a mechanical device. No divisions exist in reality, for the order of development has been logical and psychological rather than chronological. The continuity of thought and experience has been relieved by depressions and elevations of testimony, and marked by the appearance

of men and movements, that either diverted the forward course or turned the drift toward higher levels which gave the church a greater impetus to carry on its redemptive ministry.

The volume aims to tell this important story in such a way that its truly essential details shall stand out clearly and enable the wayfaring reader to grasp them. It seeks to enable the intelligent Christian to trace his convictions back to their historical beginnings, while understanding the march of progress and the contribution of each age to it. There are few who will fail to discern the guiding hand of God in each great emergency and to be reassured regarding the abiding foundations of the church.

The author has approached his task with a background of many years of study, teaching, and writing, and with a rich experience in the public presentation of various epochs and trends of thought. He writes with a keen appreciation of what average people need to know and desire to understand. That many may be drawn into a fresh fellowship with those through whose sacrificial lives and steadfast purposes even in the face of bitter experiences the Christianity of to-day has found its broad and rich expression, is the sincere wish of

THE EDITORS.

April, 1925.

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THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY

I

PENTECOSTAL DAYS (6 B. C.—100 A. D.)

1. The Mission of John the Baptist.

The voice of John the Baptist was like a bolt out of the sky. He combined the enthusiasm of apocalypticism with the stern moral convictions of prophetism. The earnest believers who chafed under Roman oppression were encouraged by apocalyptic visions of a good time coming and sustained by the teachings of the older prophets and lawgivers. Their type of piety was well represented by such devout souls as Zacharias, Elizabeth, Simeon, Anna, Joseph, Mary, who meet us on the threshold of the New Testament. They who were counted as the leaders of religion were more interested in institutionalism and ceremonialism that tended to smother the emancipating virtues of justice, mercy, and faith (Matthew 23 : 23). The mission of the Baptist was to arouse the nation from religious and moral inertia. He emphasized the divine judgment more than the divine mercy, and his symbol was the axe ready to fell the tree from its roots up (Matthew 3 : 10).

2. The Times of Jesus.

Jesus began where John ended. The preacher in the wilderness had made a trail through the brushwood of error. Jesus responded to and echoed the call of this pioneer of righteousness for repentance and restitution,

but he went further as the interpreter of the true demands of the law and the prophets and as the one who embodied in his policy and programme the real possibilities of Messianic deliverance. He came to a world preoccupied with other claims. Materialistic commercialism was focussed in Capernaum, ritualistic ecclesiasticism in Jerusalem, sectarian asceticism in the desert among the Essenes, while Roman militarism maintained its sway over every realm of thought and activity.

3. The Mission of Jesus.

It seemed like a presumptuous undertaking for Jesus to turn these currents into a different channel. But he placed his reliance on God, and with the conviction of the paramount importance of his message, he gathered a company of disciples, secured their allegiance, imparted to them his teaching, and commissioned them to face the world. His tragic death seemed a fatal blow, but his resurrection restored their faith in him as Saviour and Lord, so that after the day of Pentecost they set out to fulfil their charge. The distinction made between the gospel of Jesus concerning the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man, and the gospel about Jesus concerning his Saviourhood and Lordship, assumes a disparity that does not exist in the New Testament. To be sure, there was a development in the ideas concerning Jesus Christ, but the Personality of the Fourth Gospel is to all intents and purposes the same as the One delineated in the Synoptic Gospels and the Epistles. The New Testament as a whole gives immortal utterance to the faith of the Apostolic Church in a consistent and complete Christ. It is this fact more than aught else that explains how the gospel won credence and control with such thoroughness and rapidity during the first century.

4. Jesus the Founder of the Church.

The thought of development is strikingly illustrated in the use of the word *church*. It is found only twice in the Gospels (Matthew 16 : 18; 18 : 17), but frequently in the Epistles, eighty-eight times in the writings of Saint Paul. This usage does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that Jesus was not the founder of the church. As a far-seeing leader, Jesus knew that the propagation of his gospel would depend upon some organized relationship. His was the creative mind that conceived the idea of the church, and from him came the generative influence that made possible the atmosphere in which it was to flourish. He was, moreover, the very foundation of the church which was established on faith in him as Saviour and Lord. It might further be added that Jesus founded the church by preaching the kingdom of God, but the two are not identical. The church is the agent of the kingdom to further the divine scheme of redemption through forms of worship and methods of activity that look toward the final consummation when God shall be all and in all. The church is held in the highest reverence, because it is indispensable as the household of faith, the temple of God, the body of Christ (Galatians 6 : 10; I Corinthians 3 : 16; Ephesians 1 : 23).

5. What Was the Church?

The word *ecclesia*, invariably used of the church, is the Greek translation of the Hebrew word *qāhāl*, which refers to the fellowship of ancient Israel established for worship. The word *ēdāh*, translated synagogue, means a congregation; with the one exception of James 2 : 2, it is never used in the New Testament of the church, which was more than an assembly. It was really a fellowship of true believers held together by the bond of

mutual faith in Jesus Christ as Messiah and Redeemer, through whom they offered worship to God the Father and in whose name they engaged in the sacramental and sacrificial service of good deeds. The early organization of the church was simple but not static. The conditions of membership therein were faith in Christ and loyalty to him, but the forms of organization were flexible and these were determined by the initiative of his followers, according to exigencies. Baptism and the Lord's Supper were the two sacraments commonly observed; they were both related to belief in Christ and to the personal experience of his redemptive and mediatorial work.

6. The Success of the Early Church.

It was inevitable that this small company of enthusiastic believers should meet with opposition. This assumed serious proportions after the martyrdom of Stephen; but the disciples were so rooted in their allegiance that when they were scattered to foreign parts, the change of scene and climate did not interfere with their undivided testimony to Christ. The antagonism of the religious leaders in Jerusalem and the persecution of Herod weakened the church numerically, but the gospel was liberated for a larger mission outside the Holy Land. The evangelistic success in Antioch (Acts 11: 19 *ff.*) was but the prelude to a broadening propaganda in which Saint Paul was the conspicuous leader. He was, moreover, the storm-centre between conservatives and progressives. The struggle for Christian freedom resulted in establishing a basis of equality for both Jew and Gentile. The logic of events justified the stand of Saint Paul, who was an emancipator rather than an innovator. His work and that of his colleagues amply demonstrated the universality of the gospel and its

many-sided appeal to an age that was religiously exhausted, ethically bankrupt, socially disillusioned. It is worthy of note that within twenty years of Saint Paul's first missionary journey from Antioch, Christianity was firmly established in many parts of the Roman Empire.

7. The Centres of Early Christianity.

We recall the names of Peter, James, John, Philip, Barnabas, Silas, and others, but there were many energetic Christian laborers whose names were never made known. They preached in Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth, Athens, Rome, and other large cities, and in towns and villages without number. Some were authors whose writings have perished, but who helped to interest and to establish believers of the type contemplated by the great scholar who was the unknown author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. This fact of insistent and incessant fidelity on the part of men of widely differing types explains the marvellous advances of Christianity in the first four decades after the Resurrection, which enabled the church to survive the dreadful years of persecution that soon followed. In spite of concessions to Gentile Christians, the Jerusalem Church remained quite conservative and only tacitly tolerated those who did not accept the stereotyped views of its leaders. Its influence was destined to fade away, a result that was precipitated by the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. This tragic event was really a blessing in disguise to growing Christianity, for it still further liberated the gospel and sent Christians on their missionary errands to more distant parts of the empire. One significant result was that the Christians were more clearly distinguished from the Jews.

8. Persecution and Progress.

The persecutions instigated by Nero in 64 A. D. and by Domitian, 85–96 A. D., were based on charges of atheism, sedition, immorality, infanticide, magic, rebellion. They were most severe in Rome and Asia Minor; but instead of retarding the progress of Christianity they stimulated it. The courageous consecration of the martyrs attracted some of the noblest men and women to the church. The conclusive “apology” was not the arguments of philosophy, but the exhibition of the pure and gracious lives of the Christians. Different nationalities were represented in the membership of the church. A standardized type of character and conduct was not to be expected. The church in various localities expressed the common faith in Christ, influenced by the respective temperaments and traditions of the believers. But so long as there was sincere adherence to the central truth in Christ, divers modes of polity, liturgy, and the like were a subordinate consideration. The underlying unity was far more important than any mechanical similarity.

9. Unity in Diversity.

The Apostolic Church was thus distinguished by spiritual spontaneity, liberty, and aggressiveness. There were divisions, to be sure, but no single church presumed to exercise control over the other churches, as though its decisions were finally authoritative. The church in Jerusalem, as being the headquarters of the faith, was treated with respect, but its leadership steadily waned by reason of economic, political, and religious changes. Every church regarded itself as a constituent branch of the only holy and indivisible church; each one was an *ecclesia* with independent

standing, acknowledging the headship of the glorified Christ, under whom all enjoyed equality and liberty of fellowship. The differences blended subservient to one harmonious end, which was to exalt Christ by giving diligence, "to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" (Ephesians 4:3). The name *Christian* at once advertised the secret of the believers' life in Christ, the strength of their purpose through him, the stability of their character by him, the steadfastness of their behavior for him.

10. Christian Character and Conduct.

The New Testament clearly witnesses to the traits and tendencies of the Apostolic Church. Many of the early Christians were pagans and they could not at once set aside all their superstitious ideas and practices, which had been an integral part of their very life. The situation was similar in the case of converted Jews, most of whom did not even try to sever themselves from the legalistic notions and ritualistic observances of Judaism. These and kindred difficulties were faced by the apostles with the insight and patience of wisdom. It is to their credit that they distinguished between the things that differed and placed the duties of the converts in such a context as to remove misunderstandings, prevent questionable compromises, lessen tantalizing perplexities, and deepen the allegiance of all to Jesus Christ. The ethical counsels in the epistles impressively show that questions of conduct were seriously and continuously debated, and yet the freedom from casuistry betokened the spiritual atmosphere of liberty and liberality in the Christian circles. The doctrinal parts of the epistles expounded the new teaching without dogmatic assertiveness and with a remarkable elasticity characteristic of those who had thought out

their conclusions and who could speak with a certainty free from bigotry.

11. The Central Influence of Jesus Christ.

How refreshing it is to read the New Testament and to note that the ethical blends with the mystical, the historical with the imaginative, the intellectual with the emotional, the philosophical with the practical, the evangelical with the ecclesiastical. This was due to the controlling consciousness of Jesus Christ, who was the conscience of the early church, because he was the un-failing source of redemption from evil impulses, the gracious agent of reconciliation with the Eternal God, the generous giver through the Holy Spirit of renewal for flagging spirits and of recovery of lost poise and peace. However much these Christians disagreed on minor or even major matters, they were persuaded by experience of the sufficiency and supremacy of Jesus Christ. They therefore laid themselves out to make him favorably known and their success justified their devotion.

II

TRANSITION TIMES

(101-311 A. D.)

1. A Period of Reaction.

The church of the first century exhibited an astounding vitality of abundant life in the fellowship of the divine Spirit. It responded to the creative inspiration of the consciousness of the presence of Christ, the experience of redemption from sin, the sense of divine sonship, and the joy of human brotherhood. Under the sway of these Pentecostal experiences the Christians were influential out of all proportion to their numerical strength. It was, of course, inevitable that some reaction would follow when the early leaders had passed away, when the fervent expectations of the immediate return of Christ were replaced by the patience of faith in the consummation according to God's good time, and when the seething movement settled down to the routine of humdrum activities in building up the church without spectacular demonstrations of the immediate presence and power of Christ.

2. The Organization of the Early Church.

The church organization was simple. The congenial atmosphere of spiritual equality removed distinctions between superior and inferior, except so far as the division of labor provided for the ministry of those specially gifted for leadership. At first there were three offices (I Corinthians 12:28). The name *apostle* was used of the Twelve and of many who engaged in missionary propaganda. The *prophet* recalled the Old Testament seer, and he was inspired to utter the profound truths

of Christian revelation. The *teacher* gave instruction with spiritual discernment after study and reflection. These three classes were represented by men of outstanding qualifications. They were not necessarily attached to any local church, but travelled among the wide-ranging congregations and were a bond of unity among them. The regular exercises of worship and the practices of charity, largely modelled after the usages of the Jewish synagogue, were maintained by the *elders*, who were men of maturity and wisdom in each church. They were at first chosen to supervise and hold the membership together. As a steady stream of accession flowed toward the church, the larger numbers and their complex character made it desirable for men to be chosen who were qualified as *bishops* or pastors to minister to each flock in matters of edification, discipline, and worship. These overseers were assisted by *deacons*. By the middle of the second century bishops and deacons were accepted as the successors of the apostles, prophets, and teachers of the earlier day. This change was not due to a loss of faith in the gracious guidance of the Holy Spirit, but for the sake of greater security, stability, and effectiveness in the organized church.

3. The Development of the Church.

We need not say that the Apostolic Church was creative and that what immediately followed it was imitative. The later period was one of development, which required considerable insight and great fidelity to the principles of the gospel, so as to combine rigidity of organization with flexibility of methods, without counteracting the efficiency of either. *The Didache*, "The Teaching," written about 100 A. D., reflects the good sense of the leaders of this transition day as to administration, worship, and morals. Clement of Rome, in

his *Epistle to the Corinthians* (96 A. D.), pointed out how authority had logically passed from the apostles to the bishops. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna (69–155 A. D.), in his letter to the Philippians exhorted them to a life of watchful earnestness. *The Epistle to Diognetus* (140 A. D.) breathes the spirit of the New Testament evangel concerning the healthful influence of Christians in a world of corruption. Diognetus was probably a tutor of Marcus Aurelius, the philosopher-emperor (121–180 A. D.). It was during his reign that the Christians were exposed to severe persecutions, giving proof that profound thought and piety, as evidenced in his *Meditations*, are not always a guarantee against prejudice. The *Shepherd of Hermas* (140–150 A. D.) is an allegory which, in spite of a tedious style, portrays Christ and the church somewhat after the fashion of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch (died between 107–117), sets forth an exalted conception of Christ. He was the first to magnify the office of bishop and the importance of the sacraments in respect of their sacerdotal values, although his primary aim was to guard against the danger of factions. This brief summary suggests that much creative ability was shown in adapting the work of the church to the new environments. Religious elements from Jewish, Greek, Roman, and other ethnic groups were also assimilated, and the process required spiritual and ethical discernment.

4. The Fellowship of the Church.

The report to the Emperor Trajan by Pliny, when the latter was governor of Bithynia (112 A. D.), contains a graphic picture of the practices of the church. It was based on the word of Christians who had recanted:

They persisted in stating that the whole of their fault or indiscretion was that they were wont to meet on a fixed day before sunrise, and to sing a hymn antiphonally to Christ as God, and to bind themselves by a sacred formula not to any criminal purpose, but to abstain from thefts and violence, from the commission of adultery, from the breaking of faith, from the refusal to surrender a deposit on demand; at the conclusion of these ceremonies their custom was to disperse, and to meet again for a meal, but of ordinary harmless food; and this last they had given up since the publication of my edict, in which, according to your instructions, I put private associations under ban. Accordingly I thought it the more needful to inquire into the truth by putting to torture two serving-women that they call deaconesses, but I found nothing further than a foolish and extravagant form of belief.

The "private associations" were fraternal societies similar to modern lodges, but as some of these groups harbored political revolutionists contrary to good citizenship, stringent laws were passed against all clubs. The reply of Trajan reflected a humane spirit which discouraged any attempt to ferret out Christians or to accept anonymous and irresponsible charges against them, so different from that of the mediæval inquisitors of a later day. On the strength of this imperial rescript, many Christian prisoners were released by the no less kindly governor, who was satisfied that they were neither radicals nor revolutionaries, but keepers of the peace. Such individuals could not but commend their cause. The *Apology* of Tertullian (about 155-225) bears testimony, in the manner of forensic eloquence, to the growth of the church:

We are a people of yesterday, and yet we have filled every place belonging to you, cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very camp, your tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum! We leave you your temples only. . . . We are a body formed by our joint cognizance of religion, by the unity of discipline, by the bond of hope.

5. Christians and the Empire.

Saint Paul's attitude to the state was that of a cultured Roman citizen, and he had frequent occasion to enjoy the protection of the Roman eagle during his missionary campaigns. But there was a difference of opinion in the church as to whole-hearted allegiance to the state. This was largely due to the cult of emperor-worship which stamped its impress on all departments of the state touching private and public life. Paganism did not understand the relation between religion and morals, and it could not appreciate the Christian idea that they were interdependent. Nor did paganism worship the gods in any exclusive manner. It was considered quite compatible to pay divine honors to the Emperor without affecting loyalty to the ancestral gods. Such tolerance was not a mark of liberality but of confused thinking. Jews were released from the obligation of emperor-worship by a compromise, although heavy penalties were imposed on Roman citizens who were converted to Judaism. The Christians, however, were unknown and they were increasing, and their severe views made them suspect and unwelcome. They were justified in their conviction that it was impossible to profess a loyalty to the state that would compromise their inner loyalty to Christ. It was not a case of Christ *and* Cæsar, as understood by Jesus (Matthew 22:21), but a choice between Christ *or* Cæsar. There was no alternative, and so they refused to exalt Cæsar to the position of a deity, to adore the imperial images, to espouse this political religion. There was doubtless an element of fanaticism shown by some Christians who were reckless and even insolent in their attitude toward heathenism. The fact is, Christianity could harbor no rivals, and therefore it was unpopular. It was not national like Judaism, nor eclectic like most of the

religions and cults of paganism. It was universal, international, and intensely aggressive, and its appeal was based on its ability to satisfy the deep needs of human life without any reference to political and social patronage or emoluments. Its progress was, moreover, regarded as a menace to the safety of the empire, especially as regards military discipline. The rulers thus favored Mithraism, an Oriental cult, which was consistent with the worship of Cæsar. During the second and third centuries it spread rapidly among the legionaries. In Rome alone there were sixty chapels dedicated to Mithra, the acknowledged mediator between God and men and the protector of his followers in every crisis. At first Mithraism was a serious rival of Christianity because it appealed to the mystical tendencies of the soldiers, but it was lacking in intellectual and moral vigor and it was eventually outdistanced by Christianity. By the end of the third century it had practically disappeared.

The religious adequacy of Christianity and its stringent demands led the Christians to regard the church as independent of the state though not necessarily antagonistic to it. But in an age when conspiracies and plots abounded, the state could not permit any organization to remain outside the circle of complete civic obedience, which included giving divine honors to Cæsar. The church was thus regarded as an enemy in disguise and severe measures were taken against it. The persecutions during the reigns of Decius, Valerian, and Diocletian; the martyrdoms of Polycarp, the aged Bishop of Smyrna, and of the Scillitans at Carthage; the travails endured by the churches of Gaul, Africa, and Asia Minor, proved the hostility of the state authorities. Tertullian (155-225) was a lawyer, and after his conversion he established himself in Carthage and was

one of the ablest advocates of Christianity and an extensive author of apologetic and polemic writings. He was, however, fiery, intolerant, and uncompromising. In this respect he reflected the spirit of the age. He voiced the conviction of many Christians that there could be no alliance between church and state, and even went so far as to declare that it was impossible for a Roman emperor to become a Christian. This was doubtless true of his day, but a century and a half later the situation was so changed that Constantine, the Emperor, espoused Christianity and became the imperial protagonist of this aggressive faith.

6. Rome the Logical Christian Capital.

The logic of events pointed to Rome as the destined centre of the church. After the second Jewish war (135 A. D.) the leadership of the Jerusalem Church practically ceased. None of the provincial cities could make an ecumenical appeal comparable with that of Rome. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons (130–202), wrote: "It is a matter of necessity that every church should agree with this church" at Rome. The letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, so far back as 96 A. D., settled a dispute in the church at Corinth. The discussion between Antioch and Rome about the observance of Easter was settled in favor of the Roman decision (190 A. D.). At the beginning of the third century the church of Rome was in virtual control and its leadership was largely justified by the eminent men of practical sagacity who were bishops.

7. Origen of Alexandria.

Alexandria was another centre of importance. The school founded by Pantænus about 185 A. D. was intended to train catechumens, and later it became a

theological seminary. Clement of Alexandria (150–215) presided over it. He taught that Greek philosophy found its fulfilment in Christianity, and he won many thinkers for the church. He was greatly influenced by Philo's allegorical interpretations of the Pentateuch, but we must not judge this eminent Christian Platonist by the standpoint of our day of historical criticism, which was unknown in that early century. The boldest thinker of this school was Origen (185–254), who succeeded Clement at the early age of eighteen, unlike whom he had a zeal for martyrdom and practised extreme asceticism. After his banishment from Alexandria, Origen settled in Cæsarea, where he was busy as a teacher and author. In addition to commentaries on the books of the Bible and many other writings, numbering six thousand, he is best known by the *Hexapla*, an edition of the Old Testament, consisting of six versions in parallel columns, including the Hebrew and the Septuagint, and by his treatise *Against Celsus*, one of the ablest defenses that gave Christianity a status needed in that age. His emphasis upon the religious and moral ideals of the faith presented a sublime view of Christ, which the church of later centuries has hardly modified.

8. Carthage and Antioch.

Carthage was the home of Tertullian and Cyprian (200–258). The notable writing of Tertullian, already referred to, disproved the charges of atheism, treason, and immorality made against the Christians. It built up a pragmatic argument that specially impressed the political leaders and removed the suspicions and aspersions with which Christianity was regarded by those in power. Cyprian suffered martyrdom, but he is remembered by his able espousal of orthodoxy as the only

valid test of church-membership. The *Apology of Justin Martyr* (100–165) was addressed to the Emperor, Antoninus Pius, giving reasons why Christianity is a lawful faith. His *Dialogue with Trypho* convincingly argued from the Old Testament that Christianity is the fulfilment of Hebrew prophecy, and that the divine Logos, that is Jesus Christ, is the final answer of revelation.

Antioch was another citadel of Christianity. Here the name *Christian* was first used, and the church showed a missionary spirit of unexampled vigor (Acts 11:26; 13:1 *ff.*). Polycarp, Irenæus, Theophilus, and Ignatius were associated with this church, which furnished its full quota of martyrs, whose blood was the fruitful soil for later expansions of the Eastern Church.

9. Types of Christian Thought and Experience.

There were different types of Christianity in this period, as in the first century:

(a) The *mystical* type flourished especially in Asia Minor. The fervid temperament of its people naturally took to ecstatic forms of belief and to chiliasm, which found expression in asceticism, enthusiasm, and extreme otherworldliness. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, who was executed in the arena at Rome about 107–117, was a noble mystic. He thought of salvation as the transformation of sinful mortality into spiritual immortality, in keeping with the Johannine conception of eternal life. The errors of *Montanism* found a quick response from the emotional Christians of Asia Minor. What made this heresy so dangerous and damaging was that its beliefs were morbid exaggerations of Christian truths, due to a literalism that discarded the historical perspective of the Christian revelation, very similar to the theories and practices of much modern millenarian-

ism. This movement also protested against the growing secularism of the churches. It spread to Rome, Gaul, and North Africa, and created no small disturbance among those Christians predisposed towards extreme ways and who thought of discipline as ascetic self-denial rather than as the self-control that makes for order and strength, in accord with the spiritual healthfulness in Christ.

(b) The *speculative* type of Christian experience was largely represented in Alexandria. That prolific heresy known as *Gnosticism* here came into conflict with the church and threatened to undermine its historic foundations, with perilous consequences. The Gnostics claimed to be Christians, and professed to possess an esoteric knowledge that led them to regard themselves as superior to the rank and file of believers. Many of them were really not Christians. Their fantastic notions, loose ordinances, and questionable morals were derived from an incipient Neo-Platonism, later developed by Plotinus (205–270). According to him, Greek idealism obtained a knowledge of the True, the Beautiful, and the Good by strict religious and moral discipline. The Gnostics made a distinction between the Supreme God and the “Demiurge,” who was the creator of the world and the Jehovah of the Old Testament. Their dualism overstressed the contrast between matter and spirit, between man and God, and the gulf was to be bridged by a series of eons or emanations from God. Redemption was acquired by knowledge, ascetic conduct, and symbolical rites similar to the Greek mysteries. The most serious criticism of Gnosticism was its view of Jesus Christ, who was regarded as one of the eons. His humanity was denied; it was regarded as a semblance and not a reality, and his sacrifice on the cross was virtually a camouflage. This curious the-

ory was known as *Docetism*. Where speculation was so rife, factions multiplied, and their hair-splitting distinctions, abstract theorizings, and strained casuistry contained the seeds of decay. Basilides, who taught in Alexandria in the reign of Hadrian (117–138), was one of the foremost leaders of Gnosticism. Another was Valentinus (138–161), also of Alexandria, who taught in Rome. There were many fine Christian sentiments in their writings, for, as in every garnering, some wheat is found with the chaff. The liberality of some Gnostics led to libertinism, and their religion was a form of anti-Christian paganism. On the other hand, certain Christians held the Gnostic views as it were in solution, and their Christianity was so watered that the flavor of the wine had practically vanished.

(c) The *ecclesiastical* type was largely found in Rome. The legal mind here developed ideas as to organization which influenced the Western world, and gradually extended its sway so that, by the end of the third century, both Antioch and Alexandria acknowledged Roman supremacy. This centralization of power had its dangers, but it was necessary in view of opposition from without and errors from within. It was indeed easier to meet the open enemy than the one who in the guise of a friend disrupted the church from inside. Marcion (died about 160) represented the latter class. His attempt to reform the church on a Gnostic basis was fraught with evil. He rejected the Old Testament and preached salvation by faith and not by knowledge; but he held the Docetic view concerning Christ, and misinterpreted Saint Paul's contrast between law and gospel. He prepared a canon of the New Testament writings, the first of its kind. It contained only an expurgated edition of Luke's Gospel and ten of Saint Paul's Epistles. This compilation was for the use of the church he

founded after he was expelled from the church at Rome in 144. His positions were controverted by Tertullian, but churches holding his views spread, especially in the East, and continued till the fifth century.

10. Heretical Sects.

Other heretical sects kept the church in a state of commotion. The *Ebionites*, or "poor men," were Jewish Christians who insisted on the observance of the ceremonial law of Judaism and revived the Pauline controversy of the first century. The *Nazarenes* resembled them in some respects, but they held in honor the memory and work of the Apostle Paul. It might be said in a general way that most of the heresies turned on questions pertaining to the person of Christ. The definite triumphs of the Christian leaders were finally crystallized in a creed that expressed at once the faith and unity of the church.* This was known as the Roman Symbol, because it originated in Rome about the third quarter of the second century. It was later called the Apostles' Creed, since it contained the substance of apostolic teaching. It was used as a baptismal confession and as a test of admission into the church. Another important outcome of heretical disturbances was the selection of Christian writings that claimed apostolic authorship and authority. The four Gospels and the Epistles of Saint Paul were read in the church services, and gradually these and other Christian writings came to be regarded as having the same value as the Old Testament. The canon of the older Scriptures was established by the Synod of Jamnia (90 A. D.), which expressed the consensus of Jewish thought. There was uncertainty as to which writings should be included in the New Testament, but in 397 the third Council of Carthage declared the New Testament, as we now

have it, as finally authoritative. This representative utterance of the church was later confirmed by other councils.

11. The Rise of the Episcopacy.

A further question that received a decisive answer referred to the custodians and exponents of the Christian message. The pagan Celsus who wrote *A True Discourse* (177 A. D.), attacking Christianity, was the first to refer to the Ecclesia as the "great church" distinct from heretical sects. The word *Catholic* was first applied to the church by Ignatius, who interpreted it to mean universal. This idea bore testimony to the extensive operations of the church from Hadrian's Wall to the Euphrates River. But the need for consolidation and discipline was urgent, in view of Gnostic and Montanist oppositions and other subtle upheavals that might appear in the future. The authority thus centred in the episcopacy, whose occupants were vested with congregational or democratic power, to decide what was of the faith, and who were entitled to hold communion with the church and to receive baptism and the Lord's Supper. When Cyprian (200-258) declared, "there is no salvation out of the church," he was emphasizing the thought of unity. This he based upon the central authority of the bishop, concerning whom he wrote: "The bishop is in the church and the church in the bishop; and if any one be not with the bishop he is not in the church." Each of the bishops exercised independent jurisdiction, but it was inevitable that those in the larger cities were more influential, and that in the final analysis Rome, as the chief city of the empire, should claim precedence for its church and bishop. This was further conceded on political, economic, ecclesiastical, and spiritual grounds.

The acceptance of the episcopacy as the seat of authority led further to a distinction being drawn between the clergy and the laity. By the middle of the third century the laity were wholly dependent on the clergy for religious ministrations, whom they accordingly supported as men set apart for specific duties on behalf of the church. The clerical office was conferred by episcopal ordination. At first there was no distinction between bishops and presbyters. As churches multiplied, the bishop became the superior for purposes of administration, and the presbyters were appointed in charge of congregations. With these latter there were associated deacons, acolytes, deaconesses, exorcists, and readers, who attended to the manifold functions of an organized church, in the interest of liturgical, pastoral, eleemosynary, and other demands. Here we see the beginnings of the monarchical episcopate. In spite of its decided advantages, it eventually became the source of corruption, when unworthy men occupied this exalted office and made autocratic claims contrary to the spirit of the gospel.

12. A Summary of Results.

This rapid survey of the two centuries immediately following the Apostolic Age yields certain conclusions:

(a) The activity of the church was unabated. It was not marked by the simple fellowship of the early days, nor could this have been expected. Christianity came into contact with a manifold paganism, and the converts represented divers temperaments and traditions. The institutional demands to conserve results did not, however, suppress inspirational impulses. The presence of the divine Spirit continued to give courage and intensify devotion. So extraordinary was the spread of Christianity that it was now influentially

represented as far west as southern Gaul and Spain, in northern Africa and Egypt, central Italy, Macedonia, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine. Its adherents belonged to all classes of society—slaves, freedmen, laborers, nobility, officials from court, army, and civilian circles.

(b) The testimony of the church was conclusively persuasive. The searching appeals to the conscience, the offers of genuine redemption from sin, the assurance of immortality, the experience of spiritual freedom, the versatile ability in adapting the message to every state and condition of life and of appropriating the good in paganism, the spirit of exclusiveness so far as uncompromising loyalty to Christ was concerned, and the spirit of inclusiveness which took in all and sundry that was of value—these were some of the causes which explain the overwhelming hold of the church wherever it was established.

(c) The future of the church was thus secure. The foundations were well laid and the flexible nature of the church indicated its ability to guard against the external animosity of persecution and slander, and the internal disruptions of heresy. It further exercised a discipline that maintained the allegiance of its members by providing the needs for worship in which the celebration of the Eucharist, or Lord's Supper, was conspicuous, for edification by preaching and pastoral ministry, and for fellowship by the practices of charity.

It was a vain thought that such a militant institution could be destroyed. It was still in its youth, but it had already demonstrated its surpassing power to give relief to souls in distress, who could not find it in the existing religions, in the decadent mystery cults, or in the pantheistic faith of Mithraism, which for a time threatened to overpower Christianity, but soon gave proof

that it, like the others, belonged to a fast-passing order. About 240 A. D. Christians were known as the Third Race, because they insisted that theirs was the third method of religion, intended to supplant Paganism and Judaism. The results had already substantiated their claim. Christianity was only of yesterday, but its tomorrow promised to be even more auspicious.

III

TRIUMPHS AND DEFEATS

(311-381)

1. The Reign of Diocletian.

Diocletian (284-305) carried out a thorough reconstruction of the empire by adopting a commission form of government. Maximian was given the title of *Augustus* and appointed regent of the West, with his capital at Milan, while Diocletian himself controlled the East from Nicomedia. Two junior rulers were known as *Cæsares*. One was Constantius Chlorus, who ruled Spain and the Gauls; the other was Galerius, who was intrusted with the Balkan provinces. This division, however, centralized all authority in the Emperor, who was the autocratic head of the official hierarchy of military and civil administrators.

This expert organizer saw in the church a dangerous rival to his influence. He issued four edicts in 303-304, to dismantle all church buildings, destroy all Christian sacred books, disable the clergy, and demand all Christians on pain of death to offer sacrifices to the Emperor and the gods. The popular antagonism against the Christians had, however, decreased, and even the magistrates were favorably disposed toward them, because of the high repute of their character. The persecutions were nevertheless very bitter, though not quite as severe in Gaul and Britain as in Italy, North Africa, and the East.

2. The Appearance of Constantine.

After Diocletian retired and Maximian had abdicated, Constantius Chlorus and Galerius became *Au-*

gusti. The former died in Britain in 306, and the army acclaimed his son Constantine Emperor of the West, but his day was yet to come. He, however, compelled Galerius to recognize him as *Cæsar* over Gaul, Spain, and Britain. Maxentius, the son of Maximian, defeated Severus and became *Cæsar* over Italy and North Africa. On the death of Galerius in 311, there were four claimants to the imperial throne. Constantine defeated Maxentius, who was killed at the strategic battle of Mulvian Bridge in 312, and Licinius defeated Maximinus in 313. The two victors thus divided the honors, but in 323 Constantine crushed Licinius and became supreme ruler of the whole Roman Empire.

The character of Constantine has been differently estimated, and the sincerity of his profession of Christianity questioned. He was one of those rare, versatile men who have always been exposed to the sharpest criticism by their enemies and covered with extravagant adulation by their admirers. After due allowance is made for legendary accretions, favorable and otherwise, it has to be acknowledged that Constantine was a providential instrument for the furtherance of Christianity, as Cyrus was in the days of the Babylonian exile for the advance of Judaism. Much dross was mixed with the gold of his character. If there was more of the former than of the latter, it was due less to the Emperor than to the sycophancy of church leaders whose interests had ceased to be whole-heartedly spiritual. He nevertheless believed himself to be God's viceroy, and the testimony of Eusebius, the church historian, in spite of his omissions on account of expediency, is far more impartial than that of Zosimus. Constantine was a soldier and a statesman, and probably shared with his father, Constantius Chlorus, a disposition that favored the Christians. His life was stained by crimes,

and he held to superstitious beliefs, and if his interest in Christianity was more ecclesiastical than spiritual, it was due in measure to the peculiar spirit of the times. He proclaimed himself *Pontifex Maximus*, and his assertion of authority over the church was promptly conceded by its leaders. His legislation was consistently on behalf of Christianity. In spite of the edict of toleration (313 A. D.), he discouraged paganism and reserved his patronage for Christians.

It is easy to see how place-seekers were tempted to compromise their faith and make external professions that did not correspond with reality. People were converted to Christianity by wholesale. As the state became Christian in name, the church became worldly in spirit. The church of the three preceding centuries was a struggling organization, slowly adjusting itself to new conditions. The church of the fourth century had attained the proportions of a world-power with political pretensions and ecclesiastical confusions. The legislation of Constantine for the observance of Sunday and against such practices as infanticide, crucifixion, and mutilation of criminals; his generous contributions for the building of churches; his establishment of Byzantium as the new capital of the empire, created the external circumstances for the rapid extension of Christianity.

3. The Marks of the Church.

At the beginning of the fourth century, Nicetas, Bishop of Remesiana, in the *Te Deum*, gave expression to an epoch-making phrase: "The holy church throughout all the world." The church was also known as the "great church," first used by Celsus the pagan, to distinguish it from Gnostic and other sects, and to emphasize its possession of one rule of faith, one canon of

Scripture, one centre of episcopal authority and teaching. The church was characterized by four marks: (1) *apostolicity* with reference to the successors of the apostles and inner accord with their experience and testimony, as reflected in the New Testament; (2) *unity* of the body which is the church, with Christ the head and with all who thus acknowledge him, as interpreted in Saint Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, and as opposed to schism that divides and rends; (3) *catholicity*, as opposed to sectarianism, and connoting the ideas of comprehensive universality and considerate versatility, in view of the Christian programme to satisfy and foregather all mankind by the bonds of brotherhood; (4) *holiness*, not in the sacramentarian sense of separative exclusiveness nor in the puritan sense of otherworldliness, but in the New Testament sense of consecration to the perfection in Christ and of devotion to the redemptive purpose of God. All through the centuries these four marks have indicated an ideal and not a reality, although as prevailingly understood they have largely to do with conformity to ecclesiastical precedent and practice. There was little resemblance between the hierarchical church of the fourth century and the fraternal society of believers of the first century; but it was a development for better and worse of the Apostolic Church in ways that were adapted to the needs of the Hellenic-Roman world.

The primary purpose in establishing a central authority was to keep inviolate the fulness of the faith. Those who accepted its decisions were known as "Catholic Christians," while those who departed therefrom were branded "with the infamous name of heretics." Till the end of the second century the authority rested with the presbyterate as a whole. This included the bishop as chairman, *primus inter pares*, "chief among equals,"

who was also first pastor of the whole church. In the third century Cyprian set forth a "high providential" theory of the episcopate, when he declared, "he that has not the church for his mother cannot have God for his Father." He exalted the bishop, who stood "in the place of Christ and even of God." It is not necessary to indorse this extravagant sentiment to give credit to the institution of the episcopacy, which virtually saved the church from disruption at a time when heretical currents beat against it and threatened its very existence. For instance, if Montanism had not been resisted, the church would have degenerated into fanatical ways, doing violence to reason and undermining the progress of civilization, without the least exhibition of charity. Similar results would have followed if the church had not overcome other attacks upon historic Christianity, made in the name of freedom by erratic thinkers who mistook their vagaries for the visions of eternal truth.

4. Theological Controversies.

The church was now free from the perils and disasters of persecution. The Edict of Toleration (April 30, 311) issued by Galerius shortly before his death, and the famous Edict of Milan (March, 313), proclaimed by Licinius and Constantine, granting complete religious liberty throughout the empire, had operated advantageously to Christianity. But the era of peace was confronted by other dangers even more serious. True statesman that he was, Constantine realized that the church must be united, if it was to exercise a healthful influence. Theological controversies introduced subtle disturbances, and the turbulence was often violent and marked by invectives and anathemas. The *Donatists* were extreme puritans who insisted on a rigid disci-

pline. They insisted that those who had denied Christ during persecution should not be received back into the church, and that the sacraments should be administered only by men of unblemished character. Their contentions were rejected by the leaders of the church, and they followed Donatus, who organized a sect which took its name after him. Soon after Constantine became emperor he was petitioned by the Donatists of Carthage for kind consideration. At the Synod of Arles (314), called by the Emperor, they were convicted of doctrinal and political errors, but though repudiated, they were neither reformed nor discouraged by persecution. They increased in North Africa and elsewhere and became a veritable Adullam's cave for malcontents, and so continued for more than a century. *Monarchianism* was a protest against the doctrine of the Trinity in the third century. Its chief exponent was Sabellius, who taught that there is no distinction of persons in the Godhead, for Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three manifestations of the one divine being. *Manichæism* took its name from Mani, a Persian (born 215). This eclectic cult derived its ideas from Persian dualism, Gnosticism, and Buddhist asceticism. Its pantheistic and theosophical theories won many adherents, and it was a powerful rival of the orthodox faith. Its teachings were accepted with modifications far into the Middle Ages by many reforming sects, who were known as *Catharists* because, as their name implied, they insisted on purity. Their dualism and asceticism led them to divide Christians into two classes—the “perfect,” who renounced marriage and all social ties, and “believers,” who did not follow celibate practices. The activities of these and similar groups were indicative of the restlessness of the age. The plea for liberty of conscience voiced by Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers (300–368), could hardly be extended

to such flagrant heresies. The language of ecclesiastical authority alone was understood in those times, as is still largely the case.

5. Theologians of the Church.

There were many currents of contemporary Christian thought, represented by eminent men. The scientific theologians were found in all sections of the church. The more notable of them were Lucian of Antioch, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil of Cæsarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Apollinarius of Laodicea, Nestorius and Chrysostom of Constantinople, Arius and Athanasius of Alexandria, Cyril of Jerusalem. These men differed in many respects, but they maintained the progressive principle of theological thought, unlike the traditionalists, among whom were Epiphanius of Salamis, Theophilus and Cyril of Alexandria, more eminent as ecclesiastics than as theological thinkers. The men of both these schools wrote and spoke in Greek. Those who used Latin were Jerome, translator of the Vulgate, Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose of Milan, Rufinus, translator of Origen. Only a few of these names are familiar to us, but they and many others labored for the glory of God and for the truth as they understood it, and "their works follow with them" (Revelation 14:3). A variety of talents, marked by sanctity and sanity and by occasional outbursts of fanatical bigotry, guarded and fructified the opulent deposit of the faith that has come down to us as a gracious legacy.

6. Synods and Councils.

Synods and councils were frequently held in the interest of catholicity of faith and worship, and for purposes of more effective administration and legislation.

Some were parochial and diocesan, others were provincial, regional, national, or ecumenical. The last two types assumed an imperial status and their decisions were indorsed by the emperors. The councils in Asia Minor in the third century were due to Montanism and the Easter controversy; the question of heretical baptism came before synods at Rome and Carthage (251 and 253), as had happened in the days of Tertullian; the Synod of Antioch (269) condemned the Christological teachings of Paul of Samosata; the Council of Elvira in Spain (306) took cognizance of questions of church polity and morals and insisted on the celibacy of the clergy; the Council of Ancyra in Asia Minor (314) gave attention to those who had lapsed during the Diocletian persecution. Many of these gatherings were frequently scenes of intrigue and violence, with a passion for triumph more than for the truth. Decisions were often reached on the basis of the ballot-box, without calm adjudication between opposing parties.

7. The Ecumenical Council of Nicæa.

All these unfortunate features and much that was commendable were exhibited at the Council of Nicæa, held in 325 on the shores of the Bosphorus, about twenty miles from the imperial residence at Nicomedia. Constantine invited to this first ecumenical gathering of the entire church, at the expense of the government, bishops with their equipage from all parts of the empire. There were present three hundred and eighteen bishops and many lower clergy. The West had only six bishops, so that the majority was from the East. Geographical influences were, however, a minor matter in comparison with theological affinities. A small party led by Eusebius of Nicomedia advocated *Arianism*, which denied the deity of Christ. In opposition to it was another

party, also in the minority, led by Alexander of Alexandria, with Athanasius as the chief spokesman, advocating the full deity and humanity of Christ. Eusebius of Cæsarea, the historian, was the leader of the majority, who really had no convictions, and this centre party was easily swayed by expediency. Athanasius, who was under thirty and only a deacon, was the leading spirit of this great council, which lasted from June 14 to July 25, although final adjournment did not take place until August 25. After many debates, with attack and counter-attack, the belief of the church was confirmed, that "God himself became man that we might be made God," as expressed in the Incarnation of Christ. This belief involved the very existence of the Christian faith.

The Council of Nicæa closed with a banquet given by Constantine. There was much rejoicing over what was regarded as a notable victory. The dissenters were condemned, and those who subscribed affirmatively were remunerated. But the cause of truth and liberty has seldom been advanced by the exertion of imperial and ecclesiastical authority. Nonconformists may be forcibly silenced for a time, but eventually the scientific and religious consciousness will assert itself and demand more rational satisfaction. Constantine changed his front when he learned that the conclusions at Nicæa were not acceptable in the East. Arius returned from exile and submitted a more conciliatory creed, which favorably impressed the untheological mind of the Emperor. A reaction set in, and Constantine requested Athanasius, now Bishop of Alexandria, to restore Arius. On his refusal and in view of other charges brought against him, Athanasius was summarily exiled to Gaul in 335. Arius was about to be admitted to church fellowship, when he suddenly died (336) on the eve of his reinstatement, an old man, but not without seeing the

merits of his cause justified. The Nicene faith had received an unexpected blow. When Constantine died, May 22, 337, after being baptized by Eusebius of Nicomedia, it seemed as though the Eastern Church was victorious. But the Nicene decision was yet to stand and gain a larger adherence, for it voiced far more adequately than any other confession the convictions of the Catholic Church. Before this acceptance took place a period of bitter controversy had to be experienced.

8. Athanasius of Alexandria.

On the death of Constantine the empire was divided between his three sons. Constantine II died in 340, and the other two sons ruled jointly, Constans in the West, and Constantius in the East. The exiled bishops were allowed to return, but Eusebius was still in power, and at the Council of Antioch (339) Athanasius was again deposed. He fled to Rome and was welcomed by Julius, the bishop, who convened a synod in the metropolis, which denounced as unconstitutional the depositions of Athanasius and of Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra. The Council of Antioch (341) retaliated and reaffirmed the Arian faith. The death of Eusebius, now patriarch of Constantinople, was followed by the Council of Sardica (343). It was meant to be a general council, but the Eastern bishops withdrew and Western influence predominated. The rival factions came to no agreement, but this was a significant gathering, because it recognized the authority of the Bishop of Rome to exercise jurisdiction outside of his diocese. It was, moreover, the beginning of the Western patriarchate that finally developed into the papacy. The death of Gregory, who had ousted Athanasius, opened the way for the latter's return to Alexandria as bishop, with the approval of the two emperors. After the murder of Constans and

the defeat of Magnentius who had usurped the Western throne, Constantius became emperor of both East and West. Arianism again lifted high its head, and Athanasius was exiled for the third time. Arianism was, however, destined to final defeat by reason of its extravagances. This was evidenced when Julian succeeded Constantius and tried to resuscitate paganism. It was a quixotic movement of brief duration, for the church was too strong to be undermined, in spite of ecclesiastical and theological turbulence. After suffering exile five times, Athanasius finally returned to Alexandria, where he died in 373. His ministry was truly scarred but little stained, for with a disinterestedness uncommon in that age he championed the cause of the gospel of the Incarnation and rendered valiant service as one of the greatest defenders of Catholic Christianity.

9. Arianism.

The Ecumenical Council of Constantinople convened by the Emperor Theodosius (381) reaffirmed the Nicene Creed. This sealed the fate of Arianism, which henceforth became a lost cause. Its missionaries, however, continued their labors and won many converts among the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Vandals, and other Germanic tribes. These held the name of Ulfilas (311-383), the pioneer missionary, in the highest honor. He is best remembered by his translation of the Bible into Gothic. Meanwhile, the Church of Rome was increasing in power as the champion of orthodoxy. The substitution of Latin for the Greek language in the Western Church, was a further indication that the West was determined to assert its control over the whole church.

The rejection of Arianism included the teachings of Apollinarius, Sabellius, and kindred Christological here-

sies that tended to devitalize the person of our Lord. This question received another positive answer in 420 in the creed, *Quicumque vult*, "whosoever willeth," popularly known as the Athanasian Creed. It was further confirmed by the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451), and by the Council of Toledo (589), which authorized for the first time the use of the term *filioque*, "and from the Son," in the clause referring to the procession of the Holy Spirit "from the Father and the Son." This addition became part of the Nicene Creed as used in the West, but it was rejected by the East, and has since been one of the subjects of dispute between the Greek and Latin Churches. All of these controversies bore on the dignity of Jesus Christ. Indeed, it has been one of the chronic disputations of the church down to the present day. The outcome in every case has been a reassertion of the pre-eminence of our Lord in the faith and practice of the church.

10. Christian Art and Architecture.

The fourth century was an age of great church buildings. Many were constructed after the style of the Roman basilica, oblong in shape, with naves, aisles, and imposing pillars, and arranged to accommodate the choir, lower clergy, deacons, and presbyters, with a bishop's throne and a pulpit. The officers of the church were now a settled order. According to the *Apostolic Constitutions*, written in the third century, the services of the sanctuary had elaborate liturgical features, and the holy eucharist was the central act of worship. Christian art at first consisted of symbols of the cross, the dove, the ship, the palm-branch, the anchor, the cock, the hart, the vine. There were also monograms of the name of Christ with combinations in the cruciform character, often with the Greek letters Alpha and

Omega. Later the words *In Signo* were added, taken from Constantine's motto, *In hoc signo vinces*, "conquer in this sign." Allegorical pictures and symbolical representations of Christ were numerous. One of the most popular was the anagram Ἰχθϋς , *Ichthys*, meaning a fish; it was made up of the first letters of the sentence, $\text{Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτὴρ}$, "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour." The fish was thus a symbol of Christ, and the initiated who made this sign were known as Christians. Many of these artistic productions have been found in the catacombs. These underground cemeteries were very extensive, and they dated from the first century. Over three hundred and fifty miles of galleries and passages were discovered outside Rome alone in 1578. There was also a development of church music and of Greek and Latin hymnology. Bishop Ambrose of Milan (340–397) deserves special mention as one of the great hymn-writers of this period. The *Gloria in Excelsis*, the *Trisagion*, "Holy, Holy, Holy," and the *Te Deum* of Nicetas were then composed.

II. Early Monasticism and Missions.

Monasticism made a strong appeal by its ascetic view of Christianity. It was a protest against the increasing worldliness of the church under imperial patronage. It arose in Egypt, and the personality of its founder, Anthony of Thebes (251–356), quickened the imagination of many earnest souls whose zeal exceeded their knowledge, and who regarded prostrated emotionalism, ecstatic utterances, and physical mortifications as proofs of religious excellence. Monasticism was introduced to the West by Athanasius, and the hermit ideal won many adherents among men and women. The movement was not quite as influential a factor in the West-

ern church as it was in Egypt, and in Eastern communities where the anchorite has always been revered for superior sanctity. Another impulse of religious fervor found vent in pilgrimages to the Holy Land, although this was to find fuller expression in the Crusades. Missionary work had greatly suffered through the absorption of the church in ecclesiastical controversy, which had really ceased to be doctrinal issues and had become political questions. Missionaries nevertheless continued their earnest labors in various parts of Europe. The presence of the Bishops of London, York, and Lincoln at the Synod of Arles (314) may be regarded as proof that Christianity was making headway in Britain. Monasteries were often missionary centres. Martin of Tours (316-400) established monasteries at Ligugé and Marmontier in Gaul. Pachomius (292-348) founded cloisters on an island in the upper Nile, and such was his influence that in 356 the town of Oxyrhynchus is reported to have contained ten thousand monks and twenty thousand consecrated virgins. The inference is that many monasteries, particularly those in Europe, sent forth their light to those in the outer darkness. The work of the Arian missionaries has been previously mentioned. The material is, however, limited for any definite observations on this theme. The church had now become an institution of the state, and orthodoxy of belief was the test of loyalty to both church and state. Much was doubtless gained for Christianity by imperial favors, but a great deal was also lost, not the least of which was the spiritual tone of the church. The rise of Catholicism was the prelude to many disastrous alliances that handicapped the religious advances of the church as an agent for the evangelization and Christianization of the world.

IV

ECCLESIASTICAL IMPERIALISM

(381-604)

1. The Perils of the Church.

The fourth century was one of the turning-points in Christian history. Greek culture had finally asserted itself and Hellenic influences henceforth largely moulded Christian thought, even in the Western Church, which did not quite appreciate the fact that ideas really rule the world. The church as an institution began to model itself according to the imperial structure of the empire. The greatest perils to which it was exposed were worldliness and intolerance, and the seeds of decay were lodged in its heart at the time it was reaping the harvest of success.

On the death of Theodosius I in 395, the empire was again divided. His two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, respectively ruled the East and West. They were weak and mediocre men, unable to offset the disintegrating influences in political and social life due to the increasing control of militarism.

The Balkan peninsula has always been a seething caldron. In the third century the struggle for supremacy there resulted in a settlement granting the Visigoths (West Goths) the region north of the lower Danube, and the Ostrogoths, southern Russia. It was not long before the Huns, wild Tartar horsemen from the steppes of Central Asia, forced the Visigoths out of their territory and drove them westward. Thus began an ominous march under Alaric, their leader, who

captured and plundered as he fought his way, until at last in 410, his armies invested and sacked Rome. This was a staggering blow, concerning which Jerome exclaimed, echoing the sentiments of Lactantius in the third century: "When Rome perishes, who is safe?" This Christian teacher was extravagant in thus expressing himself, for he had hardly reckoned with all the facts. The disaster was the inevitable nemesis occasioned by the social and civic corruptions of the imperial city. Many who were out of sympathy with the church and others only superficially connected with it, blamed Christianity for the catastrophe. The issue was faced with intrepid and impartial ability by Augustine, but before we refer to his massive apology, other considerations should receive attention.

2. The Impact of Paganism on Christianity.

The struggles between Christianity and paganism continued with bloody reprisals on the part of both. One of the worst tragedies was the murder of Hypatia in 415. This renowned teacher of Neo-Platonic philosophy fell a prey to the monastic fanatics who were doubtless encouraged by Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, an impious defender of orthodoxy. The church was greatly weakened by controversy and the corruptions incident to state patronage, but paganism as a system was doomed. Its spirit and some of its practices, however, entered the church in connection with the feasts, festivals, and liturgical forms of worship. The celebration of Christmas on December 25 was first observed in Rome between 336-354. It was an adaptation of the nature festival of the Saturnalia, that commemorated the return of the sun when the days began to get longer. Sunday finally supplanted the Jewish Sabbath. The legislation of Constantine was the first to provide for

its civil observance, and the Lord's Day thus began to receive associations maintained through the centuries. The church year, well described as a "chronological confession of faith," suggested the chief events in the life of our Lord, although the feasts of Easter, Pentecost, and other sacred seasons borrowed not a little from pagan customs that were transformed according to Christian ideas. The same may be said of Mariolatry, the worship of saints and martyrs, and the reverence for relics. The leaven of superstition was manifestly at work among the majority of church members who had not dissociated themselves from pagan traditions, some of whom did not refrain from taking part in heathen festivals. Ecclesiastical leaders who personally did not indorse these practices, encouraged them under the impression that the acceptance of Christianity was thereby made easier, without realizing that such compromises weakened the distinctive truths of the gospel and committed the church to courses that embarrassed its clear testimony and its pure influence. The tares were thus mingled with the wheat almost from the beginning. The wholesale absorption of unconverted pagans, and the reception into the church of nominal Christians without instruction were responsible for many of the complications of later centuries.

3. Distinction between Clergy and Laity.

The difference between a lower and higher Christianity was further stressed in the separation between laity and clergy, with demands of celibacy for the latter and the appearance of clerical claims that gave the clergy a superiority by reason of their office, without regard to questions of personal character. When it is further remembered that many of the clergy were recruited from the poor, and that they were ill-equipped

in education, it can be understood that the leadership of the church was destined to suffer, even though its revenues were increased by state endowments. There was another side. The influence of the church, since the days of Constantine and before, was set in the direction of social progress by the amelioration of the conditions of slaves, by the elevation of the status of women, by the abolition of gladiatorial and other shows that inflamed the passions and tended toward brutality, by the introduction of humane laws that found its finest expression in the *Code of Justinian*, which remains a standard of jurisprudence to this day. Justinian (483-565) was a theologian and an administrator. His long and brilliant reign was distinguished by many achievements. He did not succeed in winning over to orthodoxy the *Monophysites*, who held that Christ had one nature, a fusion of the divine and human. His condemnation of the teachings of Origen in 543 was hardly creditable, although it reflected the intolerance characteristic of this age. Next to the *Code* he is best remembered as the builder of the church of Saint Sophia, Constantinople, one of the greatest edifices in Christendom.

4. The Rise of the Papacy.

The division of the empire was bound to react on the church. There were four patriarchates in the East, at Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and only one in the West, at Rome. Numerically the balance of power would doubtless be held by the Eastern Church, and from the standpoint of theological learning the great fathers of the church were Easterners. Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine were from the African Church; Clement, Origen, and Athanasius were from Alexandria; Polycarp, Irenæus, Theophilus, and

Ignatius belonged to Antioch. The metropolis, however, appealed to the imagination and patriotism of the empire far more than any other city. A certain dignity was thus attached to the Roman see by virtue of its position and of the tradition that Saint Paul and Saint Peter suffered martyrdom in Rome. Its bishops were little known for theological scholarship, but they invariably excelled as executives. The title of *papa*, "pope," which was one of affection and reverence, began early to be given them. Innocent I (402-417), by force of character and capable leadership, was one of the first bishops to claim the superiority of the Roman episcopate. The implications of monarchical authority were made by Leo I (440-461). Unlike his predecessors, Leo was an eminent theologian and an extraordinary administrator. He was the dominating spirit at the Fourth Ecumenical Council, which formulated the Creed of Chalcedon (451).

This creed is important since it emphatically declared that our Lord Jesus Christ is "very God and very man, of one substance with the Father as touching the Godhead, the same of one substance with us as touching the manhood, like us in all things, sin except; begotten of the Father, born of the Virgin Mary, to be acknowledged in two natures, without confusion, without conversion, without division, never to be separated; the distinction of natures being in no wise done away because of the union, but rather the characteristic property of each nature being preserved, and concurring into one Person and one subsistence, not as if Christ were parted or divided into two Persons, but one and the same Son and Only-begotten God, Word, Lord, Jesus Christ." It thus summed up previous ecumenical utterances. Nicæa (325) had declared against *Arianism*, which denied the Godhead of Christ; Constantinople

(381) against *Apollinarianism*, which denied the unity of deity and humanity in the one personality of Christ and regarded his humanity as incomplete; Ephesus (431) against *Nestorianism*, which contended that the divine and human natures of Christ were distinct, and that as man he was subject to the limitations of human conditions. These half-beliefs were condemned because they were justly regarded as lowering the supreme glory of Christ's Person. Since this day, the voice of the church has been repeatedly heard, uncompromisingly affirming the central truth as to the divine-human Redeemer of the world.

Leo's power was further increased by his activities in civic affairs and by his interventions in delivering Rome from Attila and the Huns in 452 and from the Vandals in 455. This pontiff has well been called Leo the Great, for he did much to shape the polity and policy of the church as an *imperium in imperio*, "an empire within an empire." He stood out as the only conspicuous leader in an age that was fast coming to its close, as the prelude to a new and better day.

5. Augustine and Other Teachers.

The significance of these turbulent times was forcibly interpreted by Augustine, Bishop of Hippo (354-430), who was at once a mystical theologian and an ecclesiastical statesman. He viewed the civilization of his day with philosophical and religious insight, surpassed by few thinkers or seers of any age. The church was distracted by heresy and schism, and the empire by political and social upheavals. In *De Civitate Dei*, "The City of God," Augustine undertook to set forth a Christian philosophy of history. The fall of Rome was not due to the acceptance of the Christian God, and the renunciation of the ancestral gods who had

never imparted virtue and the assurance of immortality. It was due to the vices and corruptions of the citizens and the misrule of the empire. The passing away of the earthly city, which was not the eternal city of Roman patriotism, would be succeeded by the establishment of the City of God. It is founded upon the love of God and not upon the love of self, which always embodies evil in the individual no less than in the community. This *communio sanctorum*, "society of saints," is composed of elect souls, both Christian and non-Christian, in whom the Spirit of God has been manifested in divers ways of purity and honor. It is not to be confused with the visible church, which is the symbolic and inadequate representative of the City of God. The church might be identified with it only so far as it represents the element of good. According to this test, the state might also be identified with it.

Augustine here viewed the ideal church and the ideal state, which as such are complementary and not contradictory. Although this ideal has not yet been realized, it should ever be the goal of both saint and patriot, in a determined purpose to give God the central place. In this and other writings, notably his *Confessions*, one of the great Christian autobiographies, Augustine gave expression to his passionate love for God, his sublime conception of the regnancy of Jesus Christ, his constructive ideas of the function of the church, and his doctrines of predestination, grace, and charity. His controversies with the *Pelagians*, who refused to accept the doctrine of total depravity and who stressed the human will as the determining factor in salvation, brought out forcibly the fact of sin and the gospel of salvation by divine grace. His disputes with the *Donatists*, who were intolerant separatists and sectarians,

emphasized the unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity of the church. Vincent of Lérins, in his work *Commonitorium* (434), criticised the teachings of Augustine on grace and predestination, as being contrary to Catholic tradition. In this book he propounded an epochal principle, since known as the Vincentian Canon: "We hold that faith which has been believed everywhere, always, and by all." This principle is implicitly accepted by the Roman Church and tacitly by orthodox Protestantism. Where taken literally it has cut the nerve of all progress in Christian thought and prevented free inquiry, as we shall see in later chapters.

Jerome (340-420) was the greatest scholar of the Western Church. His Latin translation of the Scriptures, known as the *Vulgate*, is still used by the Roman Catholic Church. He also translated Origen's works and wrote extensively. He was a compiler more than an original thinker. His militant advocacy of monasticism led him into controversies with such leaders as Jovinian and Helvidius, and his impulsive temper often placed him at a disadvantage. It was his ascetic view that induced his pessimistic outburst over the fall of Rome. He did not have the prophetic outlook of Augustine, who maintained that where sin abounded grace did superabound, and who taught the duty of a Christian in times of stress is not to flee the world but to serve it. This wanderer and recluse, however, deserves honor. He spent the closing years of his life as head of a monastery in Bethlehem, giving himself to labors abundant.

Another worthy leader of the church was Ambrose (340-397), who while still a catechumen and civil governor of Milan was exalted to the bishopric in that city. He gave himself to his duties with rare devotion, and his uncompromising and fearless attitude was shown

when he resisted the Emperor Theodosius, because of the massacre of many innocent people of Thessalonica in 390. His many published homilies reveal his ability as a preacher. He was also one of the pioneers in hymnology. Not the least of his services to the church was his instrumentality in the conversion of Augustine.

6. Chrysostom the Preacher.

Among the preachers of his age or of any other, a high place should be given to John of Antioch (345–407), later the patriarch of Constantinople, and best known as Chrysostom, the “golden-mouthed.” His eloquent utterances were attended by thousands. He was pre-eminently a preacher to the times, and his passion for righteousness induced an impartial outspokenness that antagonized the Empress Eudoxia and her satellites. His support of certain monks of Egypt, the followers of Origen, who had been persecuted by Theophilus of Alexandria, brought him into further disfavor with the Emperor. He was exiled three times, and finally died from hardships in the Caucasus. His courage was doubtless not tempered by self-control; but tactfulness, as popularly understood, has never been a virtue of any of the prophets of God. This master of sacred discourse is thus to be numbered among the martyrs who witnessed a good confession in a time-serving generation.

7. Gregory the Great.

In many respects, Gregory the Great (590–604) was one of the most distinguished Roman pontiffs. He was one of the first to consolidate the church with a view to establishing a central authority. As Pope he was the richest man in Italy. The extensive works of charity that he initiated and supported gave him a position

rivalling that of the Emperor of the East as the almoner of the people. He strikingly represented the mind and feelings of his age, with all accompanying defects and limitations. He more than any other saved Rome from the Lombards and effected peace between this enemy and the empire in 598. His correspondence with the Emperor Maurice and with John the Faster, patriarch of Constantinople, showed considerable acrimony. The latter's assumption of the title of "universal archbishop" was regarded as an insolent usurpation of authority, to which no bishop had a right. Such a pretentious claim, Gregory contended, was derogatory to his fellow bishops. He repudiated it and called himself "the servant of the servants of God." At the same time, he declared with strange inconsistency that he was the spiritual superior of the other bishops by reason of his occupancy of the metropolitan see. In a sense, he was justified on account of the important work he accomplished in this age of transition. Gregory is further remembered as a hymnologist and liturgist. As a patron of learning and a scholar of repute, he was excelled only by Isidore, Bishop of Seville (560-636), whose *Book of Sentences* was accepted as the leading text-book of theology until the twelfth century.

8. Missionary Work.

There were earnest souls in these trying times who were imbued with the missionary passion. The name of Patrick (389-461) is held in the highest veneration because of his truly apostolic labors in Ireland. Another faithful leader of Irish Christianity was Finian of Clonard (470-548), from whose monastic schools the light of the gospel was carried to northern England, Wales, Burgundy, and elsewhere on the Continent. Gregory's interest in missions was unlimited. He com-

missioned Augustine, a Benedictine prior, to extend Christianity in Britain. The church had already been established in this land, for three British bishops were present at the Synod of Arles in 314, and other bishops took part at the Council of Nicæa. But the cause had languished since the Anglo-Saxons conquered Britain, and a revival was most timely. The missionary party led by Augustine consisted of thirty monks and a priest, Laurentius by name. They arrived in Britain in the spring of 597, and their enterprise was auspicious from the beginning. Augustine was ordained Primate of Britain in November, 597, by Vergilius, Archbishop of Arles, and he established his see at Canterbury. From this date the gospel spread throughout this land.

9. Western and Eastern Monasticism.

Monasticism received a great impetus from Gregory. The Benedictine Order was founded by Benedict of Nursia at Mount Cassius in 529. He was later surpassed by other founders of similar orders, such as Bernard, Saint Francis of Assisi, and Ignatius Loyola; but during his lifetime his sanctity and service were greatly beneficial. The Rule of Benedict reflected a severely ascetic spirit, but it was marked by piety and common sense, and was accepted as the standard for all Western monks. Eastern monasticism was yet more extravagant in its austerities. The Stylites, founded by Simeon in the fifth century, lived on the summits of pillars. Such was the fascination of the hermit life that thousands of men and women followed it. Monasticism was enthusiastically indorsed and no less vehemently opposed, an evidence of its good and its evil. It was a healthy instinct that denounced it in every century because of its vitiating and corrupting tendencies both in the West and in the East.

10. Separation of the Western and Eastern Churches.

The controversy between Gregory and John of Constantinople concerning episcopal primacy was destined ultimately to separate the two branches of the church. The traditions and temperament of the East and West radically differed, and a spirit of rivalry had always existed between the churches in these two regions. In this respect they reflected the imperial situation. The Eastern Church was virtually a department of the state, and the Emperor was the *Pontifex Maximus*. In the Western Church the pontiff was the head of an autonomous ecclesiastical institution, associated with the state but practically independent of it. When a strong man like Gregory was bishop, the church was even able to defy the state. The interest of the Eastern Church had been hierurgical rather than hierarchical, with the result that since the seventh century it has remained conventional and formal, uncritical and ritualistic, satisfied with the performance of rites, and with no political concerns or responsibilities. The Western Church, on the other hand, has been juristic and political, laying emphasis on episcopal dignities and magnifying the church as an ecclesiastical organization. Orthodoxy is the distinguishing characteristic of the Eastern Church and catholicity that of the Western Church. This distinction is not exclusive, for the Western Church has also maintained orthodoxy, but organic unity has been its pre-eminent purpose. The flexible character of the Eastern Church was further evidenced in the rise of divisions, such as the Coptic Church in Egypt, the Abyssinian Church, the Syrian Church, with their respective patriarchs, largely as racial units. They have also held the Monophysite doctrine of the composite divine-human nature of Christ, as opposed to the Creed of Chalcedon. Such separations were unknown in the

Western Church because of its rigid polity. Its pontiffs exercised jurisdiction and initiated policies inspired by an imperial outlook. In consequence there were frequent antagonisms between church and state, which continued for several centuries.

V

CHURCH AND STATE IN CONFLICT (481-1122)

1. The Imperial Papacy.

The German invasions made a sorry exhibition of the Western rulers, nine of whom had been enthroned and deposed between 455 and 476. The word "barbarian" was used as a synonym for soldier. When it is said the barbarians ruled Italy, it meant that a military head was the overlord, with his capital at Ravenna, acknowledging nominal allegiance to the Emperor at Constantinople. Odoacer was made King in 476 by the mutinous army, but in 493 Theodoric the Ostrogoth conquered Italy. Ostrogoth rule ended in 555. The Lombard invasion of 568, caused a further division. Ravenna, Naples, the south of Italy, and Sicily were apportioned to the viceroys or *exarchs* of the Emperor; the north to the Lombards, and Rome to the pontiff, who henceforth ruled the imperial city. Gregory the Great, who was conspicuous in delivering Rome from the Lombards, gave full proof of his powers. After his death and for the following four centuries men of ordinary ability occupied the papal chair, but they were sustained in their claims by the imperial character of the papacy. It was virtually a kingdom in itself, and its officials rivalled the glory of the provincial magnates with whom they repeatedly came into collision.

2. The Holy Roman Empire.

The Franks were the first of the Germanic tribes to embrace the orthodox faith. The others were Arians.

Clovis, the Frankish King, was converted largely through the influence of his wife, Clothilda, who, though a Burgundian, was not an Arian. After defeating the Alemanni, a military confederacy of German tribes, in 496, Clovis and three thousand Franks were baptized on Christmas of that year. This was the beginning of an incipient alliance between church and state within the Frankish dominions. The fall of the Merovingian house of Clovis, so called from Merovæus, the grandfather of Clovis, opened the way for the Carolingians, named after Charles Martel, and the appearance of Pepin, who won the battle of Tertry (687). His son, Charles Martel, is best remembered by his overwhelming defeat of the Saracens at Poitiers (732), when they threatened to destroy Western civilization. Although he justly earned the title of saviour of Gaul, neither he nor Leo III, the Isaurian, who had delivered Constantinople from the followers of the false prophet, received the merit due them. Leo was charged with heresy and Charles with interfering with church property. Meanwhile, the Lombards were threatening the safety of Italy. Pope Gregory III vainly appealed to Charles Martel for help. In 732 the Pope made Martel's son, Pepin the Short, King of the Franks in place of Childeric. Four years later Pepin drove the Lombards from northern Italy and gave Ravenna and the surrounding country to the Pope. The compact between Pepin and the papacy was based upon a forged document known as the *Donation of Constantine*, according to which the Pope was the virtual overlord of the West. The Pope had turned to the Franks because he failed to secure support from the Emperor at Byzantium, who was engaged in struggles with the Saracens. All relations with the East were now forcibly cut off, and the Pope announced himself as the custodian of the West. Pepin

was hailed as the patrician of Rome (752), and in 768 he was succeeded by his son Charles (742-814). In 773 Charles made Lombardy a part of the Frankish kingdom. On Christmas Day, 800, Leo III placed on his head the Roman imperial crown, hailing him as the viceregent of God. Church and state were now united in an imperial government. It was practically one corporation with two departmental heads, the Pope controlling the spiritual interests, and the Emperor the temporal interests, of the West. Here was the beginning of the Holy Roman Empire, based upon a fictitious document. It continued during many centuries of travail and eclipse, and did much for the peace and order of Europe by conserving the culture of Roman civilization and preventing the total disintegration of life in the Middle Ages. But it was destined to collapse. The time came when, as Voltaire said, "it was neither holy nor Roman nor an empire." Indeed, it never had any of these qualities, and it was a relief when Napoleon finally dissolved this imposing phantom in 1806.

3. The Eastern Church.

The Eastern Church was disturbed by many heresies. The *Monothelites* affirmed one will in Christ, and in a sense revived the theory of the Monophysites, who held that "one divine-human energy" operated in Christ. They were condemned by the Synod of Rome (649). The Sixth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople (680) reaffirmed the Nicæan and Chalcedonian Creeds, in accord with the decision of the Western Church. A reaction against this attitude was expressed at the second Trullan Council (692) at Constantinople, which declared that its see was on an equality with that of Rome. It also enacted legislation in favor of clerical marriage and adopted 102 canons, which were repu-

diated by the Pope of Rome. Emperor Leo III, the Isaurian (716-741), revived the falling fortunes of the Eastern Empire and insisted on controlling the church in the domineering spirit of some of his predecessors. He was excommunicated by Pope Gregory III in 731, and retaliated by confiscating southern Italy and Sicily, and placing them under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople. The Seventh Ecumenical Council at Nicæa (787) reversed the policies of Constantine III and Leo III against the validity of image-reverence and kindred practices. John of Damascus, one of the honored theologians of the Eastern Church, had upheld images; he taught that the death of Christ was a sacrifice to God and not a ransom to the devil, and that the elements of the Lord's Supper are miraculously transformed into the body and blood of Christ. His book, *The Fount of Knowledge*, written in 743, represents substantially the theological position of the Eastern Church.

4. The Reign of Charlemagne.

With Charlemagne, rightly called Charles the Great, as Roman Emperor, the star of empire travelled westward. Rome again became the mistress of the world and ruled through the Emperor, and the Pope, the vicar of Christ. A gifted organizer, a victorious soldier, a fearless reformer, an ardent philanthropist, a patron of learning, a devoted churchman, the power exercised by Charles was largely personal. He showed his leadership in associating with him men of parts. Scholars like Alcuin of York, Peter of Pisa, Theodulf of Orleans, helped in the renaissance of sacred and classical learning, raised the educational standards of clergy and nobility, and established cathedral and palace schools for popular education. Theological controversy was inev-

itable. The Synod of Aachen (809) confirmed the addition of the words *filioque* in the creed, declaring that the Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father *and the Son*. Gottschalk (808-868) vigorously defended the predestination doctrine of Augustine against the Semi-Pelagians. He was attacked by Rabanus Maurus, Abbot of Fulda, and by Hincmar, Archbishop of Mainz, and was condemned as a heretic, spending the remaining twenty years of his life in a lonely prison. Ecclesiastical legislation was furthered and metropolitan dioceses increased from one to twenty-two. The need for a strong hand to buttress the fortunes of the state was felt after the death of Charles. A number of petty kingdoms arose, whose policies of feudalism increased the misfortunes of the merchant classes and the serfs, while the privileges granted the nobility only complicated the relationships and threatened the stability of the church.

Charles the Bald promoted the cause of learning in France. His efforts were ably supported by John Scotus Erigena (800-877), an eccentric scholar, who translated the writings of Dionysius the Neo-Platonist and engaged in profound theological speculation. He must not be confused with Duns Scotus, the great schoolman of a later century. In a sea of darkness the light that shone in England came from the Venerable Bede (673-735), who combined scholarship with saintliness, and whose extensive writings, including his *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, have given him a warm place in the affection of later generations. Alfred the Great (871-901) was to England what Charles the Great was to Germany and France. His efforts in the spread of education were accompanied by religious zeal for the Christianization of his people.

5. Missionary Activity.

The missionaries who pushed into barbarous and heathen lands were the advance-guard of Christian civilization. Willibrord, a Northumbrian, was a pioneer in Frisia. His unsuccessful labors were continued by Winfrid, better known as Boniface, Archbishop of Mainz, who was in labors abundant in all parts of Germany. Among his colleagues were Willibald, Bishop of Eichstädt, Gregory of Utrecht, and Sturm of Fulda. Little success attended the work of Ansgar and Rimbart in the Scandinavian countries. The Slavs were more responsive, due doubtless to the favor with which Christianity was received by their rulers, King Boris of the Bulgars and Duke Rostislav of Moravia. The Eastern Church was not missionary. It was not till the tenth century that Russia was converted by wholesale through the despotic efforts of Grand Duke Vladimir (980-1015). From our modern standpoints, much of this missionary propaganda was superficial, but it was an opening wedge. In spite of the continuance of low standards, the moral status of these peoples was raised and the missionaries were their only trusted guides.

6. Relations between Court and Curia.

From this interlude, which throws light on the real vigor of the church, we turn to the troubled relations between the court and the curia. The papacy was becoming increasingly independent, and in the declining influence of the empire it saw an opportunity, not to purify the state, but to advance itself at the expense of the state. Nicholas I had a short pontificate (858-867), but he was in many respects the ablest pope since Gregory the Great. His defiance of the Eastern emperor, Michael, the drunkard, on behalf of Ignatius, the deposed patriarch of Constantinople; his firmness con-

cerning the sanctity of marriage laws against Lothair II, King of Lorraine; his mastery over the proud prelates of Germany; his defense of helpless womanhood; and his pleas for persecuted thinkers like Gottschalk, advertised his divers interests and strengthened his authority even beyond the domains of the West. He hardly needed the indorsement of the *False Decretals*, attributed to Isidore of Seville (560–636), but really voicing contemporary sentiment concerning church law. The development up to the ninth century marked the growth of the papacy, whose purpose was not to be dominated by the state, although in secular matters the Pope was the acknowledged subject of the Emperor. After the death of Nicholas I, the papacy declined, and although the church was energetic enough, several of the popes and bishops were guilty of infamous deeds. The moral and social condition of Europe was despairingly hopeless. Feudalism, chivalry, and monasticism were the three influential factors that helped to maintain papal authority.

7. The Papacy of Hildebrand.

By the end of the ninth century two great ideas were crystallized. One was a world federation of Christians expressed in the empire; the other was the supreme authority of the church embodied in the papal states. Each power was sovereign in its own sphere, but in practical affairs the two intersected, and settlements were effected by compromises that really postponed the issues. This was the ideal of the Holy Roman Empire, providing for the exercise of the two swords—one of spiritual authority by the Pope, and the other of temporal sway by the Emperor. It was revived by Otto the Great (936–973), who planned to establish the German kingdom on the church's foundation. He

was crowned at Rome (962) by Pope John XII, who was to learn from bitter experience that Otto was a veritable thorn in his side. The papacy was really controlled by the Roman nobles, with whom Otto came into repeated conflict. He deposed and chose popes, and this arbitrary method was pursued by his successors. When Henry III (1039-56) became Emperor at the age of twenty-two, the fortunes of the empire reached high-water mark. Four popes owed their elevation to him, and they were elected in Germany.

This reformer of the papacy did not count with all the forces of opposition. The greatest was Cluniac monasticism, focussed in the person of Hildebrand (1020-85). As cardinal deacon he was even more influential than Pope Leo IX, after whose death the papal policies of Stephen X, Nicholas II, and Alexander II were virtually dictated by him. Hildebrand was largely instrumental in passing a decree at the Second Lateran Council (1059) to place the election of popes in the hands of cardinal bishops, whose decisions were to be confirmed by the clergy and the Emperor, although the participation of the latter was somewhat nebulous. Its purpose was to prevent the disorders that had invariably attended papal elections. The decree was, however, more particularly directed toward freeing the church from the secular hand of the empire, with the corrupt practices of simony and the buying and selling of ecclesiastical offices, thereby reasserting the spiritual independence of the church. Hildebrand became Pope in 1073, with the title of Gregory VII, chosen by the conclave, doubtless as a protest against Henry III, who had deposed Gregory VI in 1046. His successor, Henry IV, found in Hildebrand more than a match for his imperial prowess. When he attempted to depose the Pope because of ecclesiastical legislation

that attempted to limit his authority, he promptly received from Gregory VII the papal answer of excommunication. Events proved to be unfavorable to Henry IV, who had a divided Germany on his hands, and fearful of the consequences, he journeyed across the Alps to seek papal absolution. When he reached Canossa (1077), Gregory VII relentlessly compelled him to wait in the snow for three days, as a mark of penitence, before being pardoned.

The idea of the sovereignty of the ecclesia was developed by the fertile brain of Hildebrand. Some credit for it belongs to Waso of Liège and Cardinal Humbert, whose treatise, *De Simonia*, voiced the sentiments of the reform party during the papacy of Nicholas II. The responsibility, however, of interpreting and applying this imperial conception was wholly Hildebrand's, the Julius Cæsar of a new Roman Empire. He viewed the course of the world from the standpoint of a statesman, a priest, and a prophet. He thought of the church as a *Societas Perfecta*, "a perfect society," possessing within itself all the resources of government. The Pope as the vicar of God was supreme over all rulers, and Hildebrand promptly set to work to exact subjection everywhere. He sent his legates to the King of Denmark and the Duke of Poland, demanding tribute to the Holy See. He received it. He announced to Hungary that it was a papal fief, and he wrote to the same effect to the Princes of Castile, Leon, and Aragon. France was placed under an interdict, because Philip I insisted on trafficking in holy things. The only ruler who resisted him was William the Conqueror of England, who curtly replied: "I never intended and I do not intend now to swear fealty to you. I never promised it nor can I find that my predecessors ever did so."

Indeed, there was no distress or difficulty among high or low that escaped the eagle eye of this imperious prelate. He was doubtless right that for the good of mankind and for the realization of the kingdom of God, Christian ideas must rule the race. In this respect he was indorsing the teachings of Augustine's *City of God*. But his mistake lay in his employment of force, and in "substituting the Jewish ideal of righteousness by means of government for the Christian ideal of government by means of righteousness." Hildebrand nevertheless upheld his ideal by virtue of intrepid zeal and irrepressible ambition. But his structure of hierarchical mediævalism had no stable foundations. When he went into exile, where he died within a year, his last words were: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile."

8. Reconciliation between Church and State.

A process of deterioration now set in, and both papacy and empire found it expedient to come to terms. Writers like Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, and Hugo of Fleury, between 1099 and 1106, insisted that church and state had different rights of investiture. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, refused the spiritual investment by Henry I of England on the grounds that the King was outside his legitimate province. The Concordat of Worms (1122) arrived at a compromise between Henry V and Pope Calixtus II. The Emperor renounced his rights to invest the higher clergy with ring and crozier, symbols of spiritual power, but it was conceded that he may invest the temporalities of the church with the royal sceptre, symbol of temporal power. An exception was, however, made in respect of the temporal possessions of the Roman see, which

were beyond his control. The spiritual independence of the church was thus secured, but it tended to increase its secularization.

This concordat was the first of a series of similar compromises between popes and rulers, that weakened the spiritual influence of the church in proportion as its temporal power was strengthened. The church had yet to learn in the school of bitter experience that its authority must be exercised, not by imperial force but by fraternal persuasion. The failure to recognize this obligation is the explanation of the many dismal conflicts between church and state during successive generations. Both were grasping for power, jealous of each other's prerogatives and mutually suspicious, ready to undermine one another's strength, with tragic disregard of the truth that not by conspiring but by co-operating were they to render the most effective service for the highest welfare of mankind.

VI

CONFUSION AND CONTROVERSY

(1096-1416)

I. A Distracted Age.

Every period of history is one of darkness relieved by light. Good and evil have struggled for the mastery, and the rewards have oftener been unevenly divided between the two. After a thousand years of varied activity, the church found itself in a mood that was neither exhilarating nor enervating, but of weariness. The belief that the end of all things was at hand with the close of the first millennium of years, and the feeling that the world had not yet come under its control, had a depressing effect on the church. The rising tide of Islam from the East, the prevalence of famines, and the uncertainty of economic conditions increased a restlessness that almost amounted to a panic. This deepened a religious fervor which found vent in pilgrimages and asceticisms to expiate sin. The idealism of this age made men reckless to the verge of fanaticism and fatalism. Their failures were not due to a divided soul, but to an excessive intensity of soul that had no sense of proportion. In spite of internal corruptions the church was still the repository of goodness. Although the papacy was swollen with pride and over-ambitious for worldly power, it was the great bulwark of the Middle Ages against the disruptive forces of society. Many realized that neither in the papacy nor in the church, as then constituted, was there any satisfactory answer to their deepest needs. And yet such

was the deference to custom and the subservience to external authority, that these eager souls hoped against hope and sought for relief by widening and deepening the established channels of spiritual refreshment.

2. The Crusades.

The Holy Land was the goal of many pilgrimages. Reports of the indignities inflicted on the Christians by the Moslems caused a furor throughout Europe. The scenes of sacred history must be wrested from the infidels. The call voiced through such fiery souls as Peter the Hermit and indorsed by Pope Urban II, met with a prompt response from hundreds, who saw an opportunity for religion and adventure. The first crusade (1096-99) advanced by siege, pillage, and massacre. On the capture of Jerusalem, July 15, 1099, the enemy was put to the sword. Godfrey of Bouillon became the Protector of the Holy Sepulchre. His brother succeeded him and assumed the title of King Baldwin I (1100-18). The kingdom was established on a feudalistic basis, and it received the support of the two rival military orders, the Knights Templar and the Hospitallers of Saint John. The Moslems regained control and a second crusade (1147-49) was undertaken under the impetus of Bernard of Clairvaux, but it could not overcome a united Mohammedanism. A third crusade followed (1189-92), led by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Philip Augustus of France, and King Richard of England. Little was gained by this elaborately equipped expedition, with all its regal prestige. The fourth crusade was significant politically. The original purpose of the crusading movement was being obscured by diplomatic, commercial, and military considerations, and the succeeding three crusades (1228-72) hardly deserve this name. The "Children's Crusade"

(1212) was a tragedy. What was the outcome of this upheaval that lasted for one hundred and seventy-six years and more? The nations of Europe were forcibly drawn out of their stagnation by these armed pilgrimages which carried the banner of the Cross. Though heroes of a lost cause, they brought to a head the age-long struggle between West and East, which ended by a withdrawal of hostilities on both sides, without any settlement. The struggle was repeatedly resumed in later centuries and still continues. The perilous advance of Islam westward was energetically checked. A new intellectual world was discovered, and the culture of the Orient affected the thought of the Occident, to bear fruit in the Renaissance. The economic advantages were considerable, through the circulation of money and the opportunities for commerce, that increased the wealth of western Europe. There were lights and shadows, and if much was lost more was gained by this providential shaking of the nations.

3. Saint Bernard of Clairvaux.

Monasticism has always been a great factor in the history of religion, for it represents one of the ways of regeneration. The rise of monastic orders was a protest against the worldliness and spiritual emptiness of the Middle Ages. The independent order founded at Cluny in eastern France by Duke William the Pious (910), was primarily intended to reform the clergy and purify the church. The Cluniac movement was conducted on severe ascetic principles, but by the close of the eleventh century it had lost its savor and became a spent force through luxury and corruption. The Cistercian reform of the twelfth century tried to conserve the better energies of Cluny. Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) was its dominating spirit. His influ-

ence was so great that for twenty years his monastery at Clairvaux overshadowed Rome as a centre of spiritual power. His numerous letters breathed a spirit of charity and his moving eloquence swept like the zephyr over the souls of princes and people alike. On occasion he showed bitterness, as in his controversy with Abelard and in correspondence with popes and dignitaries. At all times he was the friend and advocate of the people. His monastery was the scene of industry, from which there went forth monks versed in the arts of religion and in the handicrafts, the secrets of which were communicated to the masses. Saint Bernard was doubtless too exacting, but after allowing for inevitable shortcomings, it has to be acknowledged that he was one of the great spiritual and moral forces in an age that sorely needed such reinforcements.

4. Radical Religious Movements.

The poise of his character stands out in relief over against the radicalism of Arnold of Brescia. This extremist criticised the church and revolted against it, while Saint Bernard's indictments intensified his devotion to the church. Arnold received short shrift, for he was hung and his body burnt. Peter of Bruys was another radical, as was also Henry of Lausanne, a Benedictine monk and a travelling evangelist, who drew upon himself the opposition of the clergy for denouncing their vices. These three men were the advance-guard of others who were openly hostile to the church, and who organized into sects. They were revolutionary in their protests and pacificism. The Albigenses were vehement puritans, but their beliefs reflected the dualism of Oriental paganism and gnosticism rather than the purity of the gospel. They were communists and forbade marriage. The Waldenses were

not hostile to the church, but sought papal permission to preach as laymen. This was refused them by Alexander III (1159–81), and on persisting they were excommunicated. They soon had a large following under the leadership of their founder, Peter Waldo, a wealthy merchant of Lyons. Calling themselves the “poor in spirit,” they preached repentance and pardon, and spread through Lombardy, Germany, and Austria. They were really the spiritual ancestors of the Hussites and Anabaptists of later times. The Humiliati of Milan were akin to them, and for a time identified themselves with the Waldenses, but seceded in 1210. These sectaries suffered bloody persecutions from the church, but they could not be silenced. They were heretics because of insubordination; and heresy in the Middle Ages was treason against God, who had committed to the church the keys of life and death. The Synod of Toulouse (1229) legislated against them by forbidding the laity to use the Scriptures. The screws were turned on later by Gregory IX (1227–41), who established that fearful institution called the Inquisition, under the direction of the Dominicans. This heartless tribunal executed many martyrs to freedom of thought, without hearing their defense and often on irresponsible evidence. The Interdict was a twin institution, aimed against countries which defied papal authority, and smiting both innocent and guilty in a ruthless manner.

5. The Franciscan and Dominican Orders.

In addition to the Cluniacs and the Cistercians, there were other religious orders, such as the Augustinians, Carthusians, Carmelites, whose houses were controlled by the Western and Eastern Churches. But all these monastic movements were put in the shade by the Friars. Saint Francis of Assisi (1181–1226) is one of

the most attractive figures of this period. With a gaiety and austerity that seemed paradoxical, this son of wealth renounced his riches and became wedded to poverty, that he might proclaim to every one the charity and compassion of Christ. Remembering the difficulties experienced with the Waldenses, Innocent III sanctioned the programme of Saint Francis. His followers were clad in a plain robe, and because of its color were known as the Gray Friars. They labored among the needy as the very incarnation of love. The "Rule" of Saint Francis appealed so strongly to the popular imagination, that in less than ten years there were five thousand men enlisted in this order, pledged to the imitation of Christ by love and obedience. The order of Saint Dominic the Spaniard (1170-1221) was less democratic and more stringent in its requirements. Their purpose was to emphasize preaching, and by methods of self-denial to win back to the church such heretics as the Cathari. They were known as the Black Friars by the color of their robe. Saint Dominic was a strict disciplinarian, a scholarly theologian, a fiery controversialist, and a convincing preacher. He exalted the church no less than Saint Francis, but the latter's life was like a poem, while that of his rival might be compared to a sword. Both these orders took the vows of poverty, but instead of retiring from the world, like Simeon Stylites and Anthony, they dwelt among the people, engaged in works of charity, furthered education, and taught in the universities. Among the Dominicans were Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, Tauler, Savonarola. The Franciscans had Bonaventura, Duns Scotus, Ockham, Dante. Both orders were established on a military basis and in subjection to the papacy. In later years their monasteries became wealthy and corrupt. The Friars were tempted away from their original mis-

sion, and the reaction from austerity often made the cloister a scene of vice. Whatever were the merits or demerits of monasticism, it was the most typical Christian life at least for ten centuries. Instead of honor it was now shown justifiable hostility, even though its opponents did not espouse the far healthier ideals of New Testament Christianity.

6. The Universities.

The mendicant orders in the days of their prime held up the torch of knowledge, but the light shone with consistent lucidity not from the monasteries but the universities. The foundations at Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Orleans, Toulouse, Bologna, Montpellier, Cordova, Seville, Toledo, were centres of vigorous disputation and industrious investigation. The purpose of these schoolmen was to reconcile reason with revelation, science with faith, in a theory that coherently established the relations of man and the world to God. This unifying system of mediæval logic and dialectic was known as Scholasticism, because it originated in the schools. Aristotle was the acknowledged master of the mediævalists. There were some traditionalists who opposed the modernizing of theology in terms of the Greek philosopher, but in the fifteenth and later centuries, when Aristotle had become the accepted guide of the church, those who went contrary to him in a further modernizing of theology were sharply condemned. Thus has progress ever had to countenance and overcome the opposition of conservatism.

7. Scholasticism.

The controversies between nominalists and realists attempted to understand the character of "universals" with reference to the nature of God, the person of

Christ, the atonement, and the ecclesia. The arguments of these scholastics might seem to us frivolous and barren, but they were steps leading to a larger grasp of truth. Modern ethical, political, and religious thought is built out of stones hewn in these mediæval quarries, and no study of the development of Christianity can ignore them. A reference to a few of these thinkers is therefore appropriate. Anselm (1033–1109), a saint and a schoolman, is remembered by his *Cur Deus Homo?*, “Why Did God Become Man?,” one of the greatest books on the atonement. Abelard (1079–1142) lectured in Paris to thousands of students from every country of Europe. His syllogistic methods and critical spirit appear in his book *Sic et Non*, “Yes and No,” in which he appealed to reason over tradition. Lombard (died 1160), the systematic theologian, influenced the Roman Catholic Church for generations by his four books of *Sentences*. Alexander of Hales (died 1245), an Englishman and Franciscan, was the first to reckon with Aristotle in distinguishing between the Scriptures as *veritas*, “truth,” and the teaching of the Fathers as *auctoritas*, “authority.” Albertus Magnus (1206–80), a Dominican, small of stature but an intellectual giant, was the author of a series of commentaries and compilations. His real greatness was reflected in his pupil, Thomas Aquinas (1227–74), in whom scholasticism reached its high-water mark in a synthesis of theology and metaphysics. He held that the court of conscience is supreme, and that the argument from authority is weak unless substantiated by reason and revelation. His view of the sacrifice of Christ was profounder than that of Anselm and Abelard, and he gave a compelling appeal to the sacramental system of Romanism, until its violent undermining by the Protestant Reformation. His *Summa Theologiæ* is still the standard of the Roman

Catholic Church. Roger Bacon (1214-94) dealt with an encyclopædic range of subjects in his *Opus Majus*. He took issue with the scholastics, and his practical mind made him an apostle of common sense. Although misunderstood and slandered, he justly earned the title of *Mirabilis Doctor*, "wonderful doctor," and only in recent years has his intrinsic greatness been recognized. Duns Scotus (1265-1308) was the keenest of the schoolmen. A Franciscan, he questioned the conclusions of the Dominican Aquinas. The followers of these two teachers, known as the Scotists and Thomists, kept alive the fires of controversy for two centuries. Concerning the Immaculate Conception, Aquinas held that the Virgin Mary shared the sin of the race, but Scotus contended that she was free from it, a view which was later indorsed by Pius IX in 1854. The argument of Scotus to separate philosophy from theology was a virtual negation of reason, which regarded faith as a leap into the dark. This position was upheld by William of Ockham (died 1349), also a Franciscan and an Englishman, whose denial of realism was the prelude to the decay of scholasticism.

8. Mysticism.

Mysticism was like a light in the spiritual darkness of the age. Its conviction was that beneath the diversity of the external there was unity at the centre. Bonaventura (1221-74) was a theologian, poet, mystic, and an efficient administrator of the Franciscan Order. His writings show the influence of Hugo of St. Victor (1097-1141), the Neo-Platonic mystic. Other exponents of this way were Meister Eckhart (1260-1327), the German Dominican; Tauler (died 1361); Henry Suso (died 1366); Catherine of Siena (1347-80); Thomas à Kempis (1380-1471), author of the *Imitation of*

Christ; the Friends of God, from whom there came that classic of mysticism, the *German Theology*. Several of these belonged to the period covered in the next chapter, but they are included here as representatives of the general stream of thought and experience, which has flowed through the centuries, to bring men back to the fountain of life, for fellowship with God through Christ.

9. Missionary Pioneers.

It was the mystics more than the scholastics or ecclesiastics who stimulated missionary enthusiasm. Ramón Lull (1235-1315), the missionary to the Moslems in North Africa, protested against the methods of force. He doubtless had in mind the propaganda of the crusaders. His *Book of the Lover and the Beloved*, as fragrant as the *Imitation of Christ* of a later date, reflects the spirit of this missionary and martyr, who accomplished little in definite results, but who achieved much through his inspirational influence over the heroes of the Cross of a later day. Franciscan friars labored in Morocco, Syria, and Egypt, but they were striking against an impenetrable mountain of rock here and in the Mongol Empire that stretched to the borders of China. Reports of this latter country were brought by Marco Polo (1254-1324), the famous traveller. Among the missionaries who went to the Far East was John of Monte Corvino, who established a church in Peking about 1300, but no effects were produced until the Jesuits renewed missionary activities three hundred years later. Of the missionaries of Europe, honorable mention should be made of Gottschalk who was murdered by the Wends of northwestern Germany in 1066, Otto the apostle of Pomerania, Meinhard of Livonia, Gottfried of East Prussia. Missions among the Jews

were not successful, largely because of anti-Semitic prejudices that constantly visited them with persecutions from church and state. Though little is to be placed to the credit of missions and there were few actual conversions, the seed sown yielded harvests in subsequent years.

10. The Thirteenth Century.

The dissemination of learning by the monastery and cathedral schools and by the universities greatly quickened knowledge during the thirteenth century, which has justly been characterized as the most progressive period in history. It witnessed the rise of noble cathedrals, the establishment of city republics, the wresting of the Magna Charta from King John of England, the advance of rationalism, the development of sacred art, the enrichment of hymnology, the activities of heretical sects, schismatic churches and religious reforms, the rise and decay of monasticism. It was, above all, the age of Dante, "the mediæval synthesis," who gathered up in himself the aspirations and antagonisms that found expression in his *De Monarchia*, "On Government," and *La Divina Commedia*, "The Divine Comedy." The militaristic ethic of chivalry had its ameliorative features, and womanhood was held in greater reverence, due partly to the cult of the Virgin Mother. But the system of society was feudalistic, and, in spite of its otherworldliness, the church was an autocracy. In an age restless and resurgent with prolific ideas and multiplied needs, the creative forces in philosophy, theology, poetry, science, art, architecture, industry, encountered in the papacy an adamant fortress, that strenuously withstood their intrepid invasions. The papacy was, moreover, at its most decisive period, but already its hold on Christendom had begun to wane.

and clouds were appearing on the horizon portending a storm.

II. Emperors, Kings, and Popes.

The city republics of Italy arose in the twelfth century. The antagonism of the Latin to the Teuton was shown when Frederick Barbarossa (1152-90) sought to bring these independent governments under his jurisdiction. Their cause was espoused by the papacy, whose occupants rivalled the German Cæsars in arrogance and defiance. Hadrian IV (1154-59), the only Englishman who was a pope, showed a democratic spirit, characteristic of his native temperament and national traditions. The mediæval church, moreover, was democratic in recognizing ability and rewarding merit wherever found. The empire was tyrannical. Its spirit was incarnated in Frederick, whose brutal insolence at his coronation (1155) was emphatically resented, when the Romans shut the gates of the city against him, and kept him out of the Basilica of Saint John Lateran, where emperors were crowned. Alexander III (1159-81) was fearless in his relations with the kings of European nations. He won a temporary triumph over Henry II of England, who was compelled to do penance at the tomb of Thomas à Becket, the murdered Archbishop of Canterbury. But it was this King whose *Constitutions of Clarendon* (1163) aimed to bring the church more directly under the crown, as a protest against the papal practices of making England a convenient dumping-ground for the Pope's favorites. In this connection we recall the honored name of Robert Grosseteste (1175-1253), Bishop of Lincoln, who gave vigorous expression to contemporary sentiment concerning the brazen pretensions of papal claims. This eminent churchman was described by Matthew of

Paris as "the chastiser of prelates, the corrector of monks, the director of priests, the trainer of clerks, the supporter of scholars, the preacher of the people, the persecutor of the unchaste, the diligent student of the Scriptures, the open confuter of the Pope, the hammerer and despiser of the Romans."

12. The Rise of the Laity.

The middle class had become wealthy and was asserting its independence. A new sense of nationalism led nations to guard their privileges against foreign intrusion, including that of the Pope himself. The laity was at last finding its voice. Innocent III (1198-1216) was equal to these emergencies. He combined personal piety with official authority. His policies were so exactly thorough that he brought to terms Emperor Otto IV, Philip II of France, Alphonso IV of Spain, and John of England. Later popes were not quite as successful in wielding such a sceptre. The relations between the papacy and the empire continued to be strained. When there was an interval of peace (1230-39) between Gregory IX and Frederick II, the inward suspicion was disguised by outward friendship. Internal divisions in Germany were ominous, and the house of Hohenstaufen was doomed. When Conradin, the son of Conrad IV (1250-54), was beheaded in 1268, by order of Pope Clement IV, the last scion of this line of rulers disappeared. The fall of the Hohenstaufens gave gratulation to the papacy, but a reaction was soon to follow, that undermined the foundations of the papacy itself.

13. The Avignon Schism.

The popes had sown the wind and were to reap the whirlwind. The secret diplomacies of Innocent IV

(1243-54) and his successors, reached a climax in the papal bull, *Unam Sanctam*, of Boniface VIII in 1302, which demanded all rulers to submit to the Pope as the condition of salvation. This mandate was resented. Philip IV, surnamed "The Fair" (1285-1314), was an anticlericalist. He nationalized the church in France and placed it under the crown. He was supported by the States General (1302) and by able lay lawyers, such as Guillaume de Nogaret. Through his influence a Frenchman, Bertrand de Gouth, was elected Pope, and crowned at Lyons as Clement V (1305-14), taking up his residence at Avignon. This was the beginning of the Avignon schism, a dismal episode, otherwise called the Babylonish captivity of the papacy (1309-76). To it can be traced the ultimate downfall of the papacy as the spiritual leader of western Europe. The order of the Knights Templar, founded in 1118, had been the strong arm of the papacy. Owing to corruptions, it was condemned, and the grand master, Jacques de Molay, burnt (1313).

14. Dante, Marsilius, Wycliffe, and Huss.

The struggle of the church for temporalities gradually narrowed down to Italy, from which country the popes were largely drawn. The conflicts had reference to the rival claims of the papacy and the empire to world dominion. In Italy the papal and imperial parties were respectively known as the Guelfs and the Ghibelines. Their contentions brought forward one of the most brilliant advocates of the rights of the laity. This was Dante (1265-1321), who spoke for the lay conscience of mediæval Christendom and exposed the evil machinations of the pontiffs. He also contended that papacy and empire were both from God, and that the divine will was to be extended by a division of labor.

This argument was further developed by Marsilius of Padua (1270–1343) and John of Jandun (died 1328) in *Defensor Pacis*, “The Defense of Peace,” which was an apologetic on behalf of the Emperor and of the people against the Pope. The indictments were none too severe. Defendants of papal rights and privileges, such as Augustine Trionfo (1243–1328), reasserted the theory of Hildebrand; but the atmosphere of the times had changed, and the air was filled with rebellious voices. The excessive taxations to enrich the papal treasury called forth a vigorous protest from John Wycliffe (1320–84). He organized his preaching friars, clad in russet, to carry the gospel to the common people. Marked by piety and patriotism, this scholar of Oxford University translated the Bible into the vernacular and quickened the religious life of England. He declared that the Bible alone is the authoritative vehicle of God’s truth, by which the teaching and practice of the church must be tested, in accord with the light of reason and the authority of the church fathers. His followers were called the Lollards. This protest of an evangelical and independent conscience against papal tyranny bore abundant fruit on the Continent. Wycliffe’s sentiments were echoed by John Huss (1373–1415) in Bohemia. His book, *On the Church*, is a pertinent exposition of the teachings of his master. He was burnt at the stake, and his disciple, Jerome of Prague, suffered a like fate the following year. A new day was dawning for spiritual and intellectual emancipation.

VII

THE NEW LEARNING

(1304-1527)

1. Reform of the Papacy.

The need for a radical constitutional reform of the church "in its head and in its members" was sorely felt. The papacy had held its own during the Middle Ages, because it met the needs of that bewildering period; but it was incapable of understanding the signs of the times and it was not in sympathy with the progress of civilization. As an autocracy it had become increasingly despotic, and its opposition to the state at certain times was restrained solely by expediency. "If a man consider the original of this great ecclesiastical dominion," wrote Hobbes, "he will easily perceive that the papacy is no other than the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof." This verdict of the seventeenth century aptly summarized the mediæval situation. The celebrated canonist, Gratian of Bologna, declared in the twelfth century in his *Decretum* that "the human race is ruled by two things; namely, by natural law and by custom." Natural law, as then interpreted, was divine law found in the Scriptures and church law presumably based upon the Bible. Custom had reference to human law influenced by church law and subordinate to it. The papacy was thus the ultimate legislator. Its authority was maintained in the face of protests and revolts, but the system was nearing the end of its primacy.

2. The Council of Constance.

In view of the threatening signs upon the horizon, councils were convened to conserve the unity of the church by reforms in polity and legislation, and by measures against heretical doctrines. The Council of Constance (1414) was one of the most important. It was the first international congress of Europe, called by Pope John XXIII and the Emperor Sigismund. Clergy and laity were represented in this gathering from many nations, to co-operate for the restoration of the church. The Hohenzollerns, who have played such a sinister part in European history, first appeared upon the stage at this time. Party jealousies and national enmities complicated the issues, and the outcome was signally fruitless. One great blot upon this council was its failure to keep its promise of safe conduct to Huss, who was burnt without a fair hearing. The attempts at reform resulted in the Hundred Years' War between England and France, made memorable by the romantic and tragic career of Joan of Arc (1410-31), whose espousal of the dauphin, Charles VII, gave a temporary victory to French arms, which ended when the Maid of Orleans was put to death.

3. Pending Changes.

The church's professions of otherworldliness did not harmonize with its ecclesiastical practices. Its attitude was further hampered by dogmatic scholasticism, which refused freedom of thought. The suffocating atmosphere of intellectual and spiritual barrenness was felt by discerning thinkers, who were in a dilemma to discover deliverance. The philosophy of Aristotle had made inroads into the thinking of western Europe. The crusades had opened the East in unexpected ways, and the by-products of this movement were more profitable

than the main products. The influence of Byzantine civilization, particularly that of the Arabs through Averroes (1126–98), the mathematician and philosopher, was felt in art, science, and poetry. The possession of the Gallipoli peninsula by the Ottoman Turks in 1366 was the prelude of an Islamic invasion that finally ended in the capture of Constantinople (1453). The centre of Eastern Christianity was thereby transferred to Moscow, and the patriarchates of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch came under the hand and heel of the Moslem. The Christians of the Eastern churches have since then been subjected to grievous indignities. They have endured incredible sufferings, from the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (1495–1566) down to the Armenian massacres.

4. The Assertion of Nationalism.

The rising tides of nationalism, following the break-up of the Holy Roman Empire, indicated an awakening of self-consciousness to the inheritance of national memories and of the determination to preserve them by strengthening national self-respect and unity. A notable incentive to the quickening of nationality was the appearance of the Third Estate, that is, the people, so termed to distinguish them as a social group with inherent rights, from the clergy and the nobility. The rebirth of the sense of individuality was another strategic influence that broke down the barriers of mediævalism. The Middle Ages really closed with the thirteenth century, when the papacy was at its zenith and disintegration began. The fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries witnessed the prolonged death-agony. When the system finally perished, the unity of Europe became a vague memory, the conflicts of church and state a tantalizing quarrel, feudalism an exhausted force, king-

ship a growing power, and democracy an assertive factor.

5. University and Church.

The universities, as centres of light and leading, were to exercise even more power than the church. The hospitality shown to scholars regardless of nationality, did more to spread the higher internationalism than the pronouncements of the church. On the other hand, *universitas* and *ecclesia* were interdependent institutions. Indeed, most of the great religious revivals have originated at the seats of learning. In illustration of this fact, mention might be made of Huss and Prague, Luther and Wittenberg, Calvin and Paris, Wycliffe, Wesley, Newman, and Oxford.

6. Petrarca and Italian Humanism.

Italy was the logical country where the new ideas first found fertile soil. The Italian temperament responded so heartily to humanism that its truth and error were focussed in the land, where the golden age of imperial Rome was viewed with revived interest, and inspiration was sought from classical antiquity. Hellenic culture was known to the early mediævalists, even so far back as the eighth century, but its influence was now to become pervasive and extensive. Francesco Petrarca (1304-74) was the pioneer humanist. Dante marked the transition between the mediæval and modern age. He wrote in the current vernacular, but Petrarca's sympathies were with the Latin of Cicero. Famous as a poet, he was crowned laureate by the University of Rome (1341), and left a legacy in æsthetics and literature. He did not know Greek, but encouraged his disciple Boccaccio in its study. Florence became the headquarters of this learning. Lorenzo Valla (1407-

57) was the most profound thinker of the Italian humanists. He discredited the *Donation of Constantine* as a forgery, as Cardinal Nicholas of Cues had done seven years previously, in 1433. Marsiglio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola, eminent Platonists, were associated with the academy founded by Cosimo de' Medici (1389–1464). It was the grandson of this autocrat of Florence, Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449–92), an astute politician, who, as a patron of art and literature, advanced humanism even beyond its legitimate bounds. The one voice whose protest was heard was that of Girolamo Savonarola (1452–98). He saw the moral and spiritual dangers of the new movement, which had infected Pope Alexander VI, one of the worst of the Borgias. The preacher of the Church of San Marco, Florence, in spite of his eloquence, could not, however, withstand this movement. When it was found that he meant what he said, his denunciations were answered by his being burnt to death.

The humanists did not attack the church but paganized it. It was an age of elegance, when art and letters flourished, without regard to character. To be sure, Christ was not forgotten, but Pan was more enthusiastically honored. In art, "The Marriage at Cana," by Paul Veronese (1528–88), the Vatican frescoes of Michael Angelo (1474–1564), "The Descent from the Cross," by Rubens (1577–1640), "The Last Supper," by Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), reflect the essential paganism of the Renaissance. On the other hand, the "Madonna of the Star" and the frescoes of Fra Angelico (1387–1455) in the chapel of Nicholas V, founder of the Vatican Library, exhibit Christian art at its best, free from the demoralizing taint of this period. The same is true of architecture, which found expression in the palaces built for the princes, rather than in the

churches erected to the glory of God. The philosophy and spirit of the Italian Renaissance are, however, best seen in Machiavelli (1469–1527) and Benvenuto Cellini (1500–71). *The Prince* advocates the rights of the autocratic ruler, and Machiavelli's glorification of the superman was outspokenly anti-Christian. Cellini's famous bronze statue, "Perseus with the Head of Medusa," was the finished product of the sculptor's art, and exemplifies a pagan confidence in physical strength and beauty, which was afraid to ignore Christ. His *Autobiography* reveals the uncontrolled passions and unscrupulous ways of one, who was apparently unaware of the fact that there was any inconsistency between pious ejaculations and impious practices.

The Renaissance was a protest against the bondage that prevented development, but its assertion of freedom discarded all ideas of discipline and decency. Much of its glory was therefore of the tinsel variety. It pandered to the lust for pleasure of the aristocracy, and its appeal to the cultured lacked the dynamic virtues that always dignify life. The working classes received no help from this upper-class movement. It began with expectations of larger liberty, but the selfishness of its promoters forged shackles that increased the tyranny of church and state. A storm was bound to burst and give better utterance to the democratic aspirations, witnessed by the cathedrals to the piety and fellowship of mediævalism. The humanism of Italy and of Europe came to an abrupt end when the Germans sacked Rome in 1527.

7. French Humanism.

The failure of the Italian Renaissance was due to its inability to distinguish between truth and error, in an indiscriminate reverence for the classics of Greece and

Rome and an ignoring of the classics of Israel. The French humanistic contemporaries of Petrarca were faithful to the church. Jean de Montreuil (1354–1418) and Nicholas de Clémanges (1367–1437) were pioneers in reviving an interest in Biblical learning. Guillaume Budé (1467–1540) was by far the best Greek scholar of his day, and founder of the Royal College under the patronage of Francis I. Jacques d'Étaples (1455–1536), a distinguished teacher of the classics in Paris, was noted for his translation and exegesis of the Bible. Farel (1489–1565) was associated with Calvin in the reformation of Switzerland. Robert Estienne (1503–59) and his son Henri (1528–98) also furthered the cause of humanistic learning. They were all serious-minded, and their classical scholarship was consecrated to enlarging the mission of the church. Unlike them, but belonging to the same movement, were François Rabelais (1495–1553), who satirized the ascetic gloom of puritanism, and Montaigne (1533–92), whose *Essays* express the agnosticism and worldliness characteristic of the Italian humanists.

8. Cardinal Ximenes and Spain.

The Moslems suffered a great defeat in Granada (1492). This was the year when Columbus discovered the New World. It was a providential move when Ferdinand and Isabella appointed Francisco Ximenes (1436–1517) to the archbishopric of Toledo. His interest in the Renaissance induced him to provide an educated clergy. He founded the University of Alcalá de Henares (1508), where Greek and Hebrew were taught. To further the study of the original text, he prepared a polyglot edition of the Bible, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. It was known as the *Complutensian Polyglot* and was published (1522) after the death of Ximenes.

Strange to say, the Inquisition was revived in Spain (1480) with the indorsement of Ferdinand and Isabella and against the protest of Pope Sixtus IV. Its fearful work was executed by Torquemada (1420-98). It seriously undermined the Spanish Renaissance and greatly weakened the church. Cervantes (1547-1616) belongs to a later period, but he represents the spirit of the Renaissance. His *Don Quixote*, published in 1605, still retains its freshness; as a portraiture of the manners and morals of the times it is without a rival.

9. German Humanism.

The new learning was to bear large fruit in Germany. Its leaders showed a respect for the great minds of the past, and utilized their contributions for the reform of religion and the spread of learning. The sacred oracles of the Scriptures, the classics of Greece and Rome, and the writings of the church fathers, were diligently studied in the original. The invention of printing had increased a reading public. For this inestimable boon we are indebted to Coster and Gutenberg. The first printed book appeared in 1440. Foremost among the German humanists was Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522), whose proficiency in Greek was unusual and who established the foundations of Hebrew scholarship through his *De Rudimentis Hebraicis*, a Hebrew grammar and dictionary. He resisted the proposal of Pferrkorn, a converted Jew, to destroy all Hebrew books except the Old Testament. The contention of the obscurantists was sustained by the Pope, but Reuchlin received the hearty support of scholars, and the controversy unified the humanists. An anonymous satire entitled *Letters of Obscure Men*, now known to be by Crotus Rubeanus, exposed the conservatives, prominent among whom were the Dominicans. The wedge was being driven in

that was to disrupt the church. Ulrich von Hutten (1483–1523), a brilliant writer, was interested in humanism for patriotic reasons. He wanted a united Germany under a reformed emperor. His support of Luther was of doubtful value and did not materially help the Reformation. We shall again meet Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), but he is here mentioned as one of the formative influences.

10. Erasmus the Apostle of Liberty.

Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536) was the most distinguished man of letters of the Renaissance. Born in Rotterdam, this scholar was equally at home in France, England, the Netherlands, Italy, and Switzerland. His love for literature was a passion. He was an apostle of sweetness and light, in an age of bitterness and rancor. His impartiality and candor often made him neutral, and a natural timidity kept him aloof from extremists. "I seek truth," he said, "and find it at times in Catholic propositions, and at times in those of the Protestants." It is not surprising that he was regarded with suspicion and enmity by radicals of both parties. He remained a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, but he won friends and followers in every party, and when he died in Basel his most ardent admirers were Protestants. He wrote extensively, but his greatest contribution was the edition of the Greek New Testament with a new Latin translation that exposed many of the mistakes of the Vulgate.

11. Humanism in England.

The atmosphere of England was favorable to the Renaissance. Chaucer (1340–1400) might well be regarded as the morning star of the Renaissance, as

Wycliffe was the morning star of the Reformation. This is true in the sense that both reflected the spirit of revolt against ecclesiastical tradition and tyranny. *The Canterbury Tales* narrate the pilgrimages to the shrine of Thomas of Canterbury, not of penitents but of holiday-makers, and the poet frequently ridicules the pious pretensions of friars and priests. William Langland (1362-1400), in *Piers Plowman*, shows less wit and more severity than Chaucer, in his exposures of priestcraft. What these writers did in part was effectively accomplished by Wycliffe. The strongest impulse came from John Colet (1467-1519), who returned from Italy enthusiastic for the new learning, and who promptly applied its principles and methods in interpreting the Bible. This disciple of Mirandola and friend of Erasmus had little sympathy with Aquinas and the scholastics. As Dean of Saint Paul's, he advocated the cause of learning wedded to religion, with an ability that has invariably characterized the incumbents of this high office. Another rare spirit was Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), whose *Utopia* is an ideal picture of Renaissance society, where the rights of the poor receive consideration no less than the privileges of the rich, both of whom are linked by the consciousness of mutual responsibility. This was one of the first books to deal with the social problem; its Christian humanitarianism is in marked contrast to the brutal paganism of Machiavelli's *The Prince*. William Tyndale (1484-1536) also belongs to this preparatory period. His translation of the Bible was an epochal contribution. It was the basis of the Authorized Version of 1611. His martyrdom by burning advanced the cause of the Reformation. The English humanists were not erudite scholars, but they popularized learning through translations, among which were North's Plutarch and Chapman's Homer.

12. The Strength and Weakness of the Renaissance.

Little has been said in this chapter about kings and popes. But it is refreshing to forget their strifes for a while, in following the river of humanism, whose waters were sweet to the taste in some countries and bitter in others. The overemphasis on learning at times tended to pedantry, and more was made of literary expression than of the living thought. Even so, the pedagogue was needed to break the shackles of Scholasticism and to emancipate the mind from the incubus of dogmatic traditionalism. The spirit of fear that rested like a pall upon Europe was shown to be inhuman. The swing of the pendulum from otherworldliness to human life on earth was accompanied by the removal of restraints, that found vent in license, often mistaken for liberty. The assertion of the freedom of the mind, moreover, defended insincerities and hypocrisies in art, literature, morals, and religion. On the other hand, the revival of the classics, the popularization of the Bible and early Christian literature, the spread of education, the awakening of the sense of nationalism, the knowledge of the customs and traditions of other peoples, produced a new outlook upon life. This opened the way for science, and it was the beginning of changes in social living, in ethical demands, in religious tests. Before their advantages could be secured, Europe had to experience a great upheaval and to be born again with the New Testament in its hand.

VIII

THE REFORMATION

(1517-1603)

1. Causes of Unrest.

The rise of the Third Estate was a significant event. The gradual disappearance of serfdom, the activities of trade-guilds, the spread of commerce, helped to improve the conditions of the common people. But the social and moral tone of the peasantry and the working classes showed that their Christianity was a thinly veneered paganism, with the rank undergrowth of base superstitions, such as witchcraft. Prostrated emotionalism did violence to faith and reason. This was illustrated in the fanatical outbursts of ascetic groups, such as the Flagellants who practised voluntary scourging and penance, and the Fraticelli who seceded from the Franciscan Order and pursued extreme austerities. It was an age of bewildering contradictions, of scepticism and grovelling beliefs, of rationalism and weird cults. The Renaissance had intensified unrest in the economic, intellectual, and social spheres. It had emancipated the intelligence and opened doors into æsthetic and literary culture, but it had no definite message for the disturbed conscience. The situation was like a seething caldron. Erasmus looked upon it with mingled feelings of dismay and distrust, and wrote: "I am afraid that a great revolution is pending." Little did he realize that it had already begun.

2. Papal Corruptions.

The corruptions within the church were intensified by the Renaissance popes, whose lust for power and

self exceeded that of the worst of their predecessors. Solemn treaties were treated as scraps of paper. The church had become the tool of designing charlatans, clad in ecclesiastical vestments. The wrangling of bishops and conclaves, the lawless excesses in monasteries, the vulgarities of friars, the feuds between the regular and secular clergy, and between rival orders, reacted upon the laity with disastrous consequences. Papal taxes became intolerable impositions, and so great was the demand for revenue that money was the *open sesame* to privileges and immunities. The highest bidder could obtain any position in the gift of the church, and they who paid could receive pardon for their offenses of divorce, crime, and other iniquities. The only exception was heresy, which was uncompromisingly condemned without investigation. Nicholas V (1447-55), founder of the Vatican Library, and Pius II (1458-64) were patrons of learning wedded to religion, but they were the exception, in sharp contrast to John XXIII (1410-15), Alexander VI (1492-1503), Julius II (1503-13), Leo X (1513-21), who incarnated the sordid evils of their day, as did the conclaves of cardinals who elected them to this high office.

3. Pioneers of Protest.

These corruptions were challenged. Movements like the Brethren of the Common Life, the Piagnoni in Tuscany, the Oratory of Divine Love, the Theatine Order; the pressure of the New Learning for a better knowledge of the Scriptures; the fiery revival of Savonarola, were portents of the coming storm. Mention might be made of three theologians who gave utterance on behalf of reform. John Pupper (1400-75) asserted the supreme authority of the Bible against the writings of the schoolmen. John Wesel (died 1481), of the University of

Erfurt, called in question the tenets of the church and emphasized the trustworthy sufficiency of the Scriptures, for which he was arraigned before the inquisition of Mainz and sentenced to imprisonment. Wessel Gansfort (1420–89) was a quiet scholar, whose writings were published after the Reformation began, and to whom Luther acknowledged his indebtedness. But these pioneers of protest were to be eclipsed by the voice raised against the rampant abuses of the church, from the obscure University of Wittenberg, October 13, 1517.

4. Martin Luther.

On that memorable day ninety-five theses against indulgences were nailed on the door of the castle church by Martin Luther (1483–1546), the son of a peasant, a monk, and a remarkable teacher. The sturdy strokes of this challenge were heard in the most distant recesses of the church, and they were greeted with a response that started the most notable revolution in history. The sale of indulgences in Germany by Tetzel (1470–1519) did violence to the conception of religious experience, and Luther vigorously criticised this papal institution for the collection of revenue. The Pope, surmising this was a provincial dispute, summoned Luther to Rome; but the Elector Frederick of Saxony had the hearing transferred to Augsburg, before Cardinal Cajetan. Luther refused to retract, and the Pope refrained from any action against the protégé of Frederick, whom he desired to have succeed the Emperor Maximilian rather than Charles V of Spain or Francis of France. The papal nuncio, Miltitz, thereupon attempted a compromise, but this failed. Luther further had the support of Melanchthon, the Greek professor in Wittenberg, Bodenstein of Karlstadt, and Ulrich von Hutten, against Tetzel, Eck, and other papal advocates.

In 1520 he published a treatise in German, *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, which stirred patriotic fervor. This was followed, two months later, by a work in Latin on the *Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, and a vigorous polemic *On Christian Liberty*. The election of Charles V as Emperor changed the complexion of the situation. To conciliate his German subjects who were in open rebellion against the Pope, Charles decided, on the advice of the Elector Frederick and other German princes, to give Luther an impartial trial. He also hoped to pacify the Pope and get his support in the pending struggle between the empire and France. Political and ecclesiastical considerations heavily weighed in the decision to convene the hearing at Worms. Luther came before the Emperor and Reichstag on April 17, 1521, and was called upon to recant. After a day of reflection, he courageously declared to this assembly that he would retract, only on being shown from the Scriptures and by the appeal of reason that he was wrong. A month later he was placed under the imperial ban. The Elector Frederick again came to his rescue, had him seized by friends and taken to the Wartburg castle. During his imprisonment, or rather, enforced retirement here, he produced a German translation of the New Testament (1522), by far his greatest contribution to the Reformation.

5. Radicalism and Insurrection.

The fires of revolt received fresh fuel. The Reichstag refused to enforce the Pope's edict against Luther, and renewed its charges against papal misgovernment. The Lutheran movement had now assumed nationwide proportions. One mark of its popularity was the organization of evangelical congregations for freedom of wor-

ship, in which the "Word of God" was conspicuous. The excessive individualism of these gatherings led to divisions. Humanists led by Erasmus were persuaded that reform should come by reason and knowledge, and they decried the reckless language and rude methods of Luther. Radicals such as Karlstadt and Munzer insisted that he should go further in his reforms. It was, however, in Luther's harsh attitude toward the peasants' insurrection against feudal tyranny that he estranged the sympathies of many of his followers and endangered the cause. He now maintained the theory that the religion of the prince determines the religion of the people. This led to the rise of national churches, which weakened the Protestant principles of the freedom of the conscience and the right of private judgment, and of the distinctive truth of justification by faith. The Augsburg Confession of 1530 clearly defined the relations between church and state, but in practice the first was subordinated to the second. Even Melancthon, who wrote the Confession, declared that the pronouncements of the church are invalid until indorsed by the rulers. Emperor Charles was a Roman Catholic, but to keep his empire intact against the menace of France on the west and of the Turks on the east, he compromised with the Protestant princes. At the Peace of Augsburg (1555) religious differences were to be settled on the principle of *cujus regio, ejus religio*, "each territory, its own religion." The decision, whether it was to be Catholic or Lutheran, was, however, determined by each prince without regard to his subjects. Religion was thus made a department of the state. Such has since been the basis of Lutheranism, exposing it to religious weakness and the evils of Erastianism, a theory advocating subjection of the church to the state.

6. Zwingli and Switzerland.

The revolt in Switzerland was led by Hulderich Zwingli (1484–1531). He was a humanist and appreciated the values of the classics of Israel, Greece, and Rome, giving the place of primacy to the Bible. He was more interested in submission to the will of God, as set forth in the Bible and as demonstrated by a life of obedience, than in the freedom of faith and forgiveness experienced by believers, as taught by Luther. He was ethical more than mystical. He regarded the church as the community of the faithful, whose authority is final, but which must be expressed through civil and political powers. Church and state were not separate institutions but one in purpose. And yet in practice the church should be merged in the state, which is *regnum Christi externum*, “the external kingdom of Christ.”

Æcolampadius (1482–1531) was an able colleague of Zwingli, whose reform movement spread through the Swiss cantons. It even affected the city of Strassburg in Germany, where the evangelicalism of Zell, Capito, and Butzer created a soil favorable to Zwinglianism. Zwingli interpreted the Eucharist symbolically, as against Luther’s Romanist view of the real presence. The German reformer was suspicious of the Swiss reformer, and feared that Zwingli’s activities were tending toward social upheavals, similar to those of the Anabaptists. When the Emperor issued a mandate against Lutheran progress and on behalf of re-establishing the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, Philip of Hesse tried to organize an alliance between the German and Swiss reform movements. The Marburg Colloquy (1529), held in Philip’s castle, between Luther and Melanchthon, and Zwingli and Æcolampadius, amounted to nothing because of Luther’s doctrinal intolerance. Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560) was a humanist asso-

ciated with Luther, whose extreme positions he did not accept. His book, *Loci Communes*, was the first Protestant system of theology. Its general point of view was in accord with Zwingli, but its scholasticism was akin to Luther's.

7. Conciliatory Confessions.

The Augsburg Confession was written by Melancthon, intended to minimize the differences between Catholicism and Protestantism, and to guard the Reformation movement against the excesses of radicals. This Lutheran declaration to the Emperor was signed by the Elector John of Saxony, Landgrave Philip of Hesse, and other Protestant princes. Zwingli also submitted to the Emperor the *Confessio Tetrapolitana*, written by Butzer, expressing the beliefs of the Swiss movement, held by the four cities of Strassburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Landau, in south Germany. The organization of the Schmalkaldic League (1531) was a union of Lutheran and Zwinglian forces against Catholic aggressions. What seemed like a providential interposition was the Turkish invasion of 1532, which compelled the Emperor to make a truce with the league at Nuremberg, in the face of the common Moslem danger. The suppression of the Munster uprising (1533-35) strengthened the Lutheran cause and weakened Anabaptist rivalry. Zwingli died two months after the league was formed. Luther passed away (1546) in the midst of the war between Germany and France. Others were now to prosecute the work they had initiated.

8. John Calvin.

John Calvin (1509-64) was the master mind of the Reformation. The religious unreality of the day was pierced by his relentless logic, that received memorable

formulation in the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. The first edition appeared in 1536, when he was twenty-seven years of age; the last edition, in 1559, was five times as large. It was dedicated to Francis I of France, but Calvin was not welcome in the land of his birth, and settled in Geneva on the invitation of Farel, who had secured the independence of this city in 1536 from the Duke of Savoy. Calvin's attempt to make Geneva a model city and also to protect the independence of the church led to his banishment by the civil authorities in 1538. His fellow exile, Farel, settled in Neuchatel, while he went to Strassburg. Here he became the pastor of the French refugees and lecturer on theology, also giving himself to literary work. He revised his *Institutes* and wrote the *Commentary on the Romans*, the first of a series of Biblical expositions that have made him one of the princes among exegetes. Three of the happiest years of his life were spent in this congenial atmosphere, and then he returned to Geneva in 1541. His troubles and triumphs now began; but he was of the caliber that neither feared the former nor was flattered by the latter, for he regarded himself as the servant of the God of supreme sovereignty and righteousness. His work in educational, civic, and religious reform again brought him into conflict with the authorities. The tide was unexpectedly turned in his favor by the trial and conviction of Miguel Servetus, who was burnt, October 27, 1553. This tragedy of intolerance demonstrated the orthodoxy of the Swiss churches and gave their leader a standing that could not otherwise have been secured. Calvin's influence was henceforth on the ascendant. He established the University of Geneva (1559). At once it took rank as the leading school for theological education. Its graduates carried the Calvinistic form of Christianity and of church polity to

France, the Netherlands, England, Scotland, Germany, and Italy. So intensive and extensive was Calvin's power that when he died he was fittingly described as "the only international reformer."

9. Protestant Conceptions of the Church.

Luther thought of the church as the invisible *communio sanctorum*, "community of the redeemed," in respect of their bond of mystical union with Christ. He thus controverted the Roman Catholic theory that the church as an earthly society should have a visible head. The trend of the German Reformation, however, led to a conclusion that Luther at first criticised. The headship and tyranny of the prince took the place of the pope. Zwingli distinguished between the visible church, which is the Christian community or state based on obedience to God's law and the acceptance of the Gospel, and the invisible church, the *numerus predestinatorum*, "the number of the elect." Calvin's doctrine was democratic in theory but aristocratic and autocratic in practice. He agreed with Zwingli that the church should be self-governed, but not merged in the state, or subordinate to it, as Luther held. Calvin's determination to restore primitive Christianity and to establish the church on the authority of the Bible and not of pontiff or prince, was due to his conviction that church and state are two separate and independent institutions. The Calvinistic view, furthermore, emphasized the sovereignty of the divine will, which preserved the essential dignity of man as dependent on God. The stability of his conception of the church was later evidenced in the Scottish Reformation under John Knox (1514-72), in the Puritan movement in England, and in the democratic assertion of freedom by Holland, the United States, and other nations which accepted the reformed

faith. On the other hand, the nations of Central Europe which accepted Lutheranism, had national churches that were subservient to their rulers, even to the point of disowning their distinctive religious functions. This was equally true of Scandinavian lands where the Reformation assumed Lutheran forms, from the days of Christian II (1513-23) of Denmark through the struggles for independence in Sweden under Gustaf Trolle, Archbishop of Upsala, who became King (1523-60). This ruler appointed bishops, and though the type of doctrine and practice was at first a compromise between Romanism and Lutheranism, the latter ultimately prevailed, when the Synod of Upsala accepted the Augsburg Confession as the national creed in 1593.

10. The English Reformation.

The characteristic independence of the English people had long led them to protest against papal appointments, that enriched the Vatican at the expense of the English Church. The reforms of Wycliffe and the humanistic movement led by Dean Colet and Sir Thomas More had prepared the nation to welcome the Reformation. Henry VIII (1509-47), whose attack on Luther secured for him from the Pope the title of "Defender of the Faith," later turned against the Roman Catholic Church, for personal and political reasons. His marital misdemeanors were criticised by Cardinal Wolsey (1475-1530), and this ecclesiastical statesman fell from power. Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556) was confirmed Archbishop of Canterbury by Pope Clement VII. Papal supremacy was finally renounced by Act of Parliament in 1534, and the King was declared to be the supreme head of the Church of England. The refusal to acknowledge the royal supremacy led to many barbarous executions. Among the martyrs were Bishop John Fisher,

Sir Thomas More, and several monks of the Carthusian Order. The nefarious projects of the King were furthered by Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex (1485–1540), a man of unscrupulous character and of Machiavellian spirit, who plundered the monasteries to enrich the royal treasury. This treacherous aspect of the English Reformation should not blind us to the brighter side. William Tyndale (1492–1536) completed the work of Wycliffe, through his translation of the New Testament, published on the Continent. His martyrdom lighted fires which have not since been extinguished.

After Henry VIII's death there were three religious parties in England. One desired the return of papal power; another insisted on reforms similar to those on the Continent; the third, in the majority, steered a middle course in wanting to retain Catholic doctrine and worship without papal control. Protestant sentiment grew during the reign of Edward VI (1547–53). The revised English Book of Common Prayer was issued with changes that favored the Protestantism of Geneva. Forty-two articles of religion, bearing the King's signature, were even more decidedly Protestant. The reign of Mary was a reaction in favor of Catholicism. The persecutions and burnings only antagonized the English against Rome. Among the martyrs were Ridley and Latimer in 1555 and Archbishop Cranmer in 1556. Queen Elizabeth (1558–1603) was nominally a Protestant, but she embodied the idea of British nationalism. The papal bull of deposition (1570) proved futile, and the English answer to the Vatican consisted of a further revision of the Prayer Book, the Catechism, and Thirty-nine Articles that were characteristically non-committal. The Queen was the idol of her people; and when the Spanish Armada appeared upon the horizon in 1588, all England, Catholic and Protestant, united

in resisting the Catholic Philip II of Spain, and scattered his boasted "invincible" fleet to the four winds. The real greatness of England began during the memorable reign of Queen Elizabeth. This was the age of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Shakespeare's immortal plays, Bacon's *Novum Organum*; of great adventurers, such as Drake, Frobisher, and Raleigh; of the amelioration of social conditions, for which the agrarian risings of the previous reigns had prepared the way; of the assertion by the Commons of the right of free speech and by Parliament of its constitutional prerogatives. The church benefited from all these advances and in turn caused reactions.

II. The Reformation in Scotland.

Scotland was in a desolate condition, due to the unscrupulous barons and their incessant rebellions against kings. The disasters at Flodden Field (1513) and elsewhere had increased the fear of England; but the Scotch alliances with France were to prove even more disastrous. The Protestant cause had gained a foothold, and, although the Scotch Parliament had sanctioned the translation and reading of the Scriptures, Catholic influence, led by Cardinal Beaton and supported by French partisans, was too strong. George Wishart (1513-46), a fearless preacher of the gospel, was burnt at the stake, and Cardinal Beaton was foully murdered in revenge by rebels who took possession of Saint Andrew's castle. French forces subdued them and carried away, among other prisoners, John Knox. He served as a galley-slave for nineteen months and on his release spent five years in England, and was one of the royal chaplains of Edward VI. He fled to Geneva when "Bloody Mary" became Queen. When he finally returned to Scotland, he found the Reformation in full

swing. The Scotch nobles and barons had organized a league called "The Lords of the Congregation," to advance Protestantism and to oppose France. Knox became minister of Saint Giles, Edinburgh. His defiance of Mary, Queen of Scots, a Catholic and widow of the French King Francis II, exposed her culpable blunders and furthered the Protestant cause. A religious settlement was made in 1560, which advanced reforms in education and religion, until in 1592 a Presbyterian polity was established, through the leadership of Andrew Melville, that signalized the new day for religious freedom in this northern land.

12. Results of the Reformation.

The Reformation was a providential movement, whichever way it is regarded. The experience of the divine forgiveness, otherwise known as justification by faith, was the basic truth of the New Testament that was recovered. It has increased in lucidity and power with the passing years. We must not, however, think of the reformers in advance of their times, and criticise their positions as though they held our standpoint, which has been made possible by the progress of science, scholarship, and world conditions. They endeavored to combat ancient abuses that were entrenched in the church for centuries. To be sure, they retained many of the elements of Catholicism, and their views of authority and liberty were only partially thought out. They suffered from intellectual obscurantism, inevitable in that day of radical transitions. Few of them understood the full significance of their attempt in breaking away from tradition, for they had not clearly realized that it implied the freedom of a Christianized conscience, based on the appeal to reason and indorsed by sound learning. Luther owed much to the mysticism

of the *German Theology*, a work of the fifteenth century, but several of his beliefs were mediævalistic. His emotional temperament partly explains what might seem to be a reaction later in his life, but the change was really due to a radicalism that he had not mastered by consecutive thought, and which exposed him to some inconsistencies. The logical mind of Calvin produced a system of theological and political thought, adequate for his day, in opposing the papacy and the state; but many questions were left open, which later days have been slow to face, in accordance with the New Testament injunction: "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good" (I Thessalonians 5 : 21). This hesitation has been largely due to the scholasticism of Protestantism, which disregarded the ideal of freedom and insisted on orthodoxy of belief. It was a type of conformity to theological and creedal standards, in a spirit very similar to the demands of Catholicism, but without its vision of the church as a united whole. This loss of vision was occasioned by the excesses of individualism, with its narrow pieties, provincial enmities, and petty jealousies characteristic of sectarianism. But no age has produced leaders free from the immaturities that reflected the spirit of their day. The illusion of completeness afflicts every age. The reformers, however, started a movement which emphasized, far better than they realized, the principle of development. Like yeast it has been influencing religious, political, and industrial life, for the emancipation of mankind.

IX

THE AFTERMATH

(1534-1689)

I. Renaissance and Reformation.

A superficial survey might conclude that Europe in the fifteenth century was happy and care-free, but that in the seventeenth century it found itself plunged into a whirlpool of tumult, and that the smile upon the face had disappeared. Romanticism has always been inclined to idealize the past, and distance gives enchantment to the view of a so-called vanished glory. This was the weakness of humanism. It made the ancient world unreal and thought of it as a field of wheat without tares. The Reformation ruthlessly uncovered the past, to recover what was worth while in it and progress toward better conditions. But it raised more problems than it was able to answer. Its theory of the freedom of the Christian made for a root and branch individualism. Its view of the church as a *communio sanctorum*, "society of the redeemed," was too transcendental. It emphasized an otherworldliness that divided life into sacred and secular, and intensified opposition between religious and civil duties. Designing princes thus placed the church under their heels, and their patronage tended to make or mar religious interests, according to their disposition to secure personal advantages or to engage in altruistic service. The Calvinistic reform, indeed, magnified the sovereignty of God and the equality of man before the Creator, but this noble theory found little response in practice.

2. Science and Philosophy.

Protestant persecutions were as virulent as Catholic. The man who presumed to think for himself was a heretic, and he was treated with greater severity than the assassin or adulterer. Henry VIII, the despoiler of monasteries, and Philip of Hesse, the bigamist, were condoned, while martyrdom was the reward of Servetus from Protestants, and of Giordano Bruno from Catholics. Neither Protestantism nor Catholicism, as orthodox systems, reckoned with science or tolerated the freedom of the intellect. The scholasticism of both placed a premium on the closed mind. In spite of these terrorizing handicaps, the march of science and philosophy, born again in the sixteenth century, went forward. We here recall the sacrificial labors of Copernicus (1473-1543), the Polish astronomer; of Galileo (1564-1642), the Italian physicist; of Tycho Brahe (1546-1601), the Danish astronomer; of Bruno (1548-1600), the Italian philosopher; of Vesalius (1514-64), the Belgian anatomist; of Harvey (1578-1657), the English anatomist, who discovered the circulation of blood; of Descartes (1596-1650), the Frenchman, and the father of modern philosophy; of Sir Francis Bacon (1561-1626), the promulgator of the inductive method. These and others extended the frontiers of the kingdom of truth and knowledge, and made possible the privileges of free thought for a later day.

3. The Huguenots.

The growth of Protestantism in France received a severe check during the reign of Francis II. His wife, who later became Mary, Queen of Scots, was an ardent Catholic; and the Catholic party wielded power through her uncles, Charles, Archbishop of Rheims, and Francis, Duke of Guise. The French resented the influence of

the Guises, who were foreigners, but a revolution in favor of the Bourbons failed in 1560 through poor management. The new King, Charles IX (1560-74), a youth of eleven years, was under the influence of his mother, Catherine de' Medici, a bigoted Catholic. The French Protestants, nicknamed Huguenots in 1557 from their meeting-place near the gate of King Hugo, continued to increase. Their leader was Gaspard Coligny (1517-72), a French admiral, who had won the favor of the King. A Catholic plot to murder him failed, and the sequel was a conspiracy against the Huguenots, consummated by the bloody massacre on Saint Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572. Catherine de' Medici was responsible for this fiendish orgy, whose victims numbered eight thousand in Paris alone, and a hundred thousand in France. There were other disabilities until 1598, when the Edict of Nantes gave the Huguenots religious and civil liberty. Its revocation by Louis XIV in 1685 proved disastrous to France, for thousands of the best citizens migrated to other European lands and to America.

4. Protestantism in Holland.

William of Orange (1533-84) was the leader of Dutch independence wrested from Philip II of Spain. The principle of toleration encouraged in the Netherlands made Holland the open refuge of the oppressed. The Calvinistic type of Protestantism produced two reactions. One was Socinianism, named after Socinus (1539-1604), an Italian humanist; it was a form of Unitarianism and won many adherents in Holland and England. The other came from Arminius (1560-1609), who taught that the freedom of the human will was more worthy of the honor of God than the divine decrees of election and reprobation. The Remonstrants

were supported by Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), the eminent jurist and the founder of international law. He was imprisoned by the stadtholder Maurice, but escaped and lived in exile. His great book, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, “On the Rights of War and Peace,” set forth principles of justice beyond which we have hardly advanced. As a theologian, his work on the atonement maintained that the sacrifice of Christ was to satisfy divine justice and exempt sinners from punishment. The Synod of Dort (1618) condemned Arminianism, reaffirmed the Belgic Confession of 1561, and formulated a Calvinistic creed expressed in the Heidelberg Catechism. The expelled Remonstrants were permitted to return in 1625, after the death of Maurice, but Arminianism found a more congenial soil in England. It was later advocated by John Wesley and the Methodists.

5. Ignatius Loyola and the Jesuits.

The Spanish Inquisition gave birth to more Protestants than it destroyed. The *Auto da Fe* was a festive occasion in Spain, when thousands of victims were butchered by the secular arm. Monastic orders have invariably risen in times of crisis. The Oratory of Divine Love was founded in Rome (1517). One of its leaders, Pietro Caraffa (1476–1559), afterward Pope Paul IV, had learned much during his stay in Spain from the reformation of Cardinal Ximenes, and he injected its spirit into the new order. Other orders came into existence, but they were all eclipsed by the Society of Jesus. Ignatius de Loyola (1491–1556) was the founder and first general of this militant organization, which proved to be the Prætorian Guard of the papacy. This Spanish nobleman was a soldier, and after a spiritual crisis he was led to dedicate himself as a soldier of Christ and the church. With six companions he organ-

ized a society for the conversion of the heathen in 1534, and received the indorsement of Pope Paul III in 1540. Its members were bound together by the discipline of the *Spiritual Exercises*, which Loyola had prepared in the Dominican monastery at Manresa. The overwhelming response given to this deformed and scarred man, whose enthusiasm was boundless, proved that Catholics were prepared to follow a leader who guaranteed fidelity regardless of sacrifice.

The revival of Catholicism under this Spanish papalist swept throughout Europe. Jesuit halls were established in many cities. The *Collegium Romanum* and the *Collegium Germanicum* were founded for the teaching of philosophy and theology. This campaign of higher education, missionary evangelism, and social reform was far more effective than the mediæval methods of repression and persecution. The missionary zeal of Francis Xavier (1506-52) is one of the marvels of church history. It sounds incredible that in an age when travelling was so difficult and hazardous, this flaming fire-brand should have preached in India, Ceylon, and Japan, to all classes and conditions of men, and finally died on an island near Hongkong, as he was about to enter China. The inordinate desire for speedy results exposed the Jesuits to questionable compromises. They were versatile but superficial. Their system of casuistry, sophistry, and probabilism, which later found its exponent in Ligouri (1696-1787), was subjected to scathing criticism by Blaise Pascal (1623-62) in *The Provincial Letters*, and by the Jansenists, a reform party in Catholicism, who revived the teachings of Augustine on irresistible grace. The Jansenists showed a heroic thoroughness of purpose in contrast to the evasive subtlety of the Jesuits, who were supported by Louis XIV of France. One result of the controversy was that

the Jansenist convent at Port Royal was demolished in 1709 by order of the King. The Jesuits were apparently successful, but the seeds of decay had already begun to bear fruit, and through the years the name of Jesuit has been a synonym for dangerous deceit and unscrupulous subterfuge combined with affable manners.

6. The Counter-Reformation.

The Society of Jesus nevertheless did much to quicken the Roman Catholic Church. The Counter-Reformation was directly due to its influence. This revival bore gratifying fruit in the mystical fervor of Saint Teresa (1515–82), a Castilian, and the reformer of the Carmelites; in the tender piety of Francis de Sales (1567–1622); in Bossuet (1627–1704), most eloquent of French preachers; in Fénelon (1651–1715), his contemporary and opponent; in Madame Guyon (1648–1717), a French quietist; in Miguel de Molinos (1640–97), the Spanish mystic and author of the *Spiritual Guide*. But a great deal more was accomplished in correcting the abuses precipitated by the Reformation and in reclaiming those who had embraced Protestantism. Prominent among those instrumental in this work were Cardinals Bellarmine and Baronius, Philip Neri, Vincent de Paul, Charles Borromeo, and Julius Echter. The Inquisition was also set in operation in Italy, France, and the Netherlands. The most important of the numerous councils was that held in Trent in 1545. Its three sessions covered eighteen years, and important legislation was enacted. The doctrinal position of the Roman Catholic Church was made more explicit. The Congregation of the Index of Prohibited Books was established in 1571 by Pius V, to protect the faithful against books by apostates, heretics, and schismatics.

Catholicism has largely been on the defensive since the Reformation. Its missionary fervor, incited by the Jesuits, showed to advantage by the side of the indifference of Protestants, whose missionary work was practically negligible. Many of the reformers were of the mind of Luther, who regarded missions as futile, and denounced the enterprise as an interference with the plan of God.

7. Protestant Divisions.

The divisions in Protestantism were most perilous in Germany. Disputes between Lutherans and Calvinists were complicated by political considerations. The Formula of Concord (1580) represented the scholasticism of the Lutherans, as the Synod of Dort (1618) voiced that of the Calvinists. The 'Thirty Years' War, begun in 1618, involved Spain, France, Sweden, and the German principalities. It ended, after fearful desolations, with the Peace of Westphalia (1648), which guaranteed toleration to Catholics and Protestants of all parties. The religious benefits of this war, like all wars, were of doubtful value. The stress of the times was, however, reflected in the hymns of Paul Gerhardt (1607--76) and the mysticism of Jakob Boehme (1575--1624).

8. The Puritans and Anglicans.

The religious settlement of Queen Elizabeth gave satisfaction to both Catholics and Protestants. Opposition soon developed in the extreme wing of the latter, called Puritans, because of their desire to purify the Church of England of Romish errors. They were largely influenced by the Genevan Reformation. One of the leaders was Thomas Cartwright (1535--1603), who was deprived of his Cambridge professorship and compelled

to live in exile on the Continent, at the instance of John Whitgift (1530-1604), later the successor of Archbishop Parker. Ministerial organizations called "Prophesyings" were held in London, Northampton, and other cities for religious discussion and mutual training. Attempts to suppress them by the inquisitorial methods of the High Commission Court, only fed the flames of Puritan revolt. The Separatists met as independent congregations, because they were convinced that the reform of the Anglican Church was impracticable. The first of these conventicles was formed by Robert Browne (1550-1633) in 1581, in Norwich, where Anabaptist refugees from Holland had settled. His teaching was more democratic than that of Henry Barrowe (1550-93), who stressed the authority of the ruling elders of each independent congregation. This idea was developed by the Puritan colony in Massachusetts Bay (1628), where a spirit of intolerance led to persecution, unlike the religious equality practised by the Pilgrims, who were influenced by Browne, and who established the New Plymouth colony in 1620.

Richard Hooker (1533-1600) set forth the Anglican position with cultured and courteous persuasiveness in *The Ecclesiastical Polity*. Others of the same school were Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, and Archbishop Laud. The "Millenary Petition," submitted to James I in 1603, resulted in the Hampton Court Conference, but the Puritans received no consideration. They were ordered to conform on peril of being harried out of the land. One notable outcome of this conference was the Authorized Version of 1611. The growing strength of Anglicanism, under royal patronage, increased the privations of the Puritans, especially in the reign of Charles I and largely through the energy of Laud. This ecclesiastic was con-

cerned with uniformity for the sake of unity, which he realized was necessary if Protestantism was to withstand the united Counter-Reformation. His tragic mistake was in employing force, to compel conformity to the episcopacy as the seat of final church authority.

Among the Puritans were such men as Richard Baxter, John Milton, John Bunyan, Pym and Hampden, who were parliamentarians, Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton and John Eliot, soldiers. The Civil War, directed against royalty and prelacy, ended in the defeat of the royalists at Marston Moor (1644) and at Naseby (1645). Between these two critical battles, Laud was beheaded, and a similar fate awaited Charles I, who on charges of treason was executed in 1649. In this year the Act of Religious Toleration was enacted. Cromwell became Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, and the reign of Puritanism began. The Puritan state was modelled after the theocratic pattern of the Old Testament. Its endeavor to bring all life into accord with the sovereign will of God was based upon tests that made more of external conformity than of the inward transformation of character. It did not give social expression to the Rule of God, owing to failure to relate spiritual to political and economic developments. This was due to the spirit of individualism that weakened the bond which held society together, and that made each man a law unto himself and a church unto himself. To be sure, he professed to be guided by the Bible, but the liberty of private interpretation became license. Endless sects were multiplied, stressing bigoted pieties and local enmities, which made confusion worse confounded. The Puritans had nevertheless introduced some healthy reforms. One of these was the English Sunday, observed even with greater rigor in Scotland where it was known as the Scotch Sabbath.

9. Nonconformists and Nonjurors.

The rigid laws and iconoclastic practices of the Puritans produced a reaction with the Restoration, when Charles II returned from exile. The King's promise of "liberty to tender consciences" was not kept. The Act of Uniformity of 1662 compelled two thousand Puritan clergymen to withdraw from the State Church. Among them was Richard Baxter, author of *The Reformed Pastor*. These became known as Nonconformists. The sufferings in Scotland were even greater. In 1663 more than two hundred ministers resigned their churches, because they could not comply with the Patronage Act. The story of the Covenanters and Cameronians is one of religious heroism, unequalled in the annals of the church. James II was an avowed Romanist and he excelled Mary Tudor in bitter cruelty. He found in Judge Jeffreys, whom he promoted to be chief justice, a man who carried out his policy of vengeance through the Bloody Assize. Three hundred and twenty persons were hanged, and eight hundred and forty-one sold into slavery in the West Indies. Many of these died like flies in the convict ships. This reign of terror lasted three years and ended ingloriously when James fled to France (1688). The hope of the Protestants had begun to turn to Mary, elder daughter and heiress of James. She had married William, Prince of Orange, who was invited to come to the rescue. The Declaration of Rights of 1689 reviewed the situation in England and concluded that William and Mary were King and Queen. William accepted the crown in his own name and his wife's, and pledged fealty to the laws of the land. Some Anglican clergymen in high office, such as Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new rulers. They became known as Nonjurors, formed separate congregations,

and generally weakened the church. The Toleration Act of 1689 granted freedom of worship to all Protestants, but the line was drawn against Roman Catholics and Unitarians.

10. The Quakers.

The Quakers, or Society of Friends, were a minor sect. They bore testimony to the inner light as against the mechanical interpretation of Scripture of extreme Puritans. The leader, George Fox (1624–91), and his associates were imprisoned and persecuted. In 1662 there were four thousand five hundred Quakers in prison, four hundred of whom died there. Their steadfast courage and pure living were not without reward. The Quaker settlement in Pennsylvania was established in 1682 by William Penn, on principles of toleration. In spite of dissensions, the Quakers have continued to exercise an influence for spiritual religion out of all proportion to their numbers.

11. The Pilgrims and Settlements in America.

The Pilgrim adventure of 1620 constitutes one of the romances of church history. In their exile in Amsterdam and Leyden these earnest souls conceived the plan of a colony in the New World, to be founded on the basis of religious liberty. Their ultimate success was a credit to their leaders—John Robinson, pastor and counsellor; William Brewster, elder; John Carver, first governor; William Bradford, second governor; Miles Standish, valiant soldier; Samuel Fuller, doctor. It would nevertheless have failed without the heroic fidelity of all of the one hundred and two persons, men, women, and children, who braved the ocean voyage on the *Mayflower*. Contrast with this enterprise the abortive attempts at colonization of the Huguenots under Jean

Ribaut in South Carolina in 1562. The Massachusetts Bay Colony of 1628, settled in Salem and Boston, was made up of the gentry and men of academic culture, who were known as the Puritans. They were more intolerant than the Pilgrims, who belonged to the humbler walks of life; and they were responsible for the persecutions that later disgraced New England, occasioned by the witchcraft delusion and other superstitious beliefs (1688-92). As a pioneer of genuine tolerance, Roger Williams (1604-84) was pre-eminent. He was banished from Massachusetts and settled Rhode Island, where he founded the first Baptist Church in America. It became a refuge of religious freedom. Other groups who came to these shores in the seventeenth century were the Episcopalians, who planted Virginia in 1607; the English Roman Catholics under Lord Baltimore, who established Maryland in the interests of full religious toleration in 1632; the Quakers in Pennsylvania (1682); and in 1683, also in the same State, the Menonites, an Anabaptist sect holding to religious freedom and separation between church and state, so called from their leader, Menno Simons (1492-1559). The Dutch founded New Amsterdam (New York) as a trading colony in 1624, and in 1628 the first Dutch Reformed Church was organized. The English took possession of New York in 1664, and the Church of England was represented by Trinity Church, organized in 1697.

The era of religious freedom had at last dawned, due to the sacrifices of those who dared to be courageously singular in asserting their rights. Though viewed with suspicion and regarded as unwelcome alarmists and disturbers of vested interests, these pioneers broke down the barriers of traditionalism and made possible the coming of better things. The distinctive points of view of these religious groups have persisted to the present

day. There now exist two types of attitude—that of intolerance and dogmatism, traceable to Puritan influence, and that of tolerance and broad-mindedness, coming from the Pilgrims. The latter holds the promise of the future, but before it is realized, stern and sacrificial struggles will have to be endured.

X

RATIONALISM AND REVIVALISM

(1689-1793)

1. Science and Philosophy.

It was a great gain when the individual conscience wrested its freedom from the trammels of an ecclesiastical system that had enchained religious and social life with a rigidity similar to the caste systems of India. Few were, however, prepared to take advantage of this freedom. The Reformation had recovered the sacramental principle of the New Testament, of liberty of faith, which was enslaved to the sacerdotal principle of church tradition. But its emancipation was soon shackled by a scholasticism not unlike the mediæval type. This new authority was now to be questioned by science, urging the primacy of facts over theories, and demanding a rational and systematic investigation. The Copernican system had already caused an upheaval, and its conclusions were substantiated by the observations of Brahe, Keppler, Galileo. But a profound sensation was made by Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727), the English mathematician and physicist. He demonstrated in his *Principia* that the physical universe operates according to law and not by arbitrary divine fiat. His exposition of the law of gravitation made use of hypotheses, but his generalizations rationalized the facts. This has since been the method of all scientific investigators.

While men were gasping over this discovery of what

was a new heavens and a new earth, and were trying to relate this world to the vast system of worlds, philosophy made it clear that the universe is a harmonious whole. The first word in this direction was spoken by Descartes (1596–1650), who had found the teaching of the Jesuits unsatisfactory, and went to Holland, the home of free thought in the seventeenth century. His syllogism, *Cogito, ergo sum*, “I think, therefore I am,” stressed the demand of reason, but he did not follow the inductive method. His contribution was important, but a later psychology has shown the fallacy of his argument. His syllogism was reversed to read *Sum, ergo cogito*, “I am, therefore I think,” which is in greater accord with the facts of life. Baruch Spinoza (1632–77), called a “God-intoxicated man,” argued that real being is a consistent whole and that the final reality is substance or God, whose nature is expressed by attributes. Two of these are known to us, mind and matter, that is, the spiritual and the spatial. He was a theosophist rather than a pantheist, but he united the metaphysics of Descartes with the ethics of Christianity in a rational system distinguished by spiritual aspirations. The theory of Leibnitz (1646–1716), that many substances or monads originate from God, was challenged by Locke (1632–1704), who maintained that knowledge comes from experience. The existence of God is thus proved by the law of cause and effect, by which also the foundations of morality are established. Religion is essentially reasonable, for even though it may be above reason, it is never contrary to it. Pleas for tolerance had already been made in Chillingworth’s *Religion of Protestants* (1637), in Milton’s *Areopagitica* (1644), in Jeremy Taylor’s *Liberty of Prophesying* (1647). Locke carried the argument still further in his *Letters on Toleration* (1689), which appeared in the same year as the Act of

Toleration. The sensationalistic philosophy of Hobbes (1588–1679) called forth sharp criticism from the Cambridge Platonists, who upheld the reason as the medium by which spiritual realities are understood and experienced. The liberal orthodoxy of this school was denounced, but its leaders, Whichcote, John Smith, Ralph Cudworth, Henry More, exercised a far greater constructive influence than such latitudinarian churchmen as Tillotson, Burnet, and Tenison. There were other divines who had a more positive message, such as Jeremy Taylor, John Pearson, Robert South, and Henry Barrow, who shed a lustre on Anglicanism.

2. Deism and Christianity.

Religion was studied by others from the standpoint of what they called common sense. A knowledge of the non-Christian religions of India and China, although of a second-hand and crude type, led to a comparison between natural religion and the religion of revelation. Some argued that revelation was superfluous, and that superstition was due to priestcraft. They further advocated the sufficiency of nature and reason for a belief in the existence and providence of God. They discounted miracles, the evidence of prophecy and the supernatural, and insisted that religion should be subjected to rational and moral tests. This type of thought was known as Deism. Its purpose was to distinguish between true and false Christianity, but its shallow optimism and premature conclusions were based upon imagination rather than reason applied to the study of facts. The titles of some of their books indicate the trend of their thought: Toland's *Christianity Not Mystical*, Tindal's *Christianity as Old as Creation*, Collins's *Discourse on Free Thinking*, Hume's *Natural History of Religion*. One of the most decisive refutations of the

deistic contentions was Bishop Joseph Butler's *Analogy of Religion*. He built his argument on the theory that "probability is the very guide of life," showing that reason is not the exclusive vehicle of truth, and giving a theistic interpretation of the supremacy of conscience. Butler did not give *our* answer to the problems of life, but his volume has had considerable value, in demonstrating that Christianity is not a religion of unreason and superstition, but in perfect accord with the mandates of reason and conscience. Bishop George Berkley, the idealist, pointed out that atheism is untenable. He was also greatly interested in missionary work among the American Indians. Paley's *Evidences of Christianity* (1794) was a more popular presentation. It was the forerunner of the new type of Christian apologetic during the early part of the nineteenth century. All these writers made it clear that there was much more in organized Christianity than bigotry, caprice, and intolerance.

3. Deism and Pietism.

The influence of English Deism was felt on the Continent. In France it took the form of vehement opposition to organized religion, which in that land was pre-vaillingly Roman Catholic. Voltaire could not distinguish between Christianity and the church, but his hostility must not be taken as enmity against religion. He was a deist in his belief in God, and his humanitarianism led him to espouse causes on behalf of human welfare and against injustice. He was one of the foremost of the Encyclopædists, who popularized rationalism in France. Rousseau (1712-78) was more open-minded than the impulsive and inconsistent Voltaire. This son of a Swiss watchmaker, through his *Social Contract*, became a leader of reform which culminated

in the French Revolution. His *Confession of a Savoyard Vicar* is free from bitterness and may be regarded as the flower of deistic thought. The course of rationalism was more constructive in Germany than among the temperamental French. This was partly due to Pietism, and more to the dominating influence of Frederick the Great. This Prussian ruler welcomed to his court the wits and philosophers of the age, and his motto was "Reason but obey." He flaunted Christianity, which he identified with the arid Lutheranism of the German Church. His coarse patronage of unbelief did violence to all religious sensibilities, against which there was a reaction. This came from the Pietist movement. It did not have the learning of the court sceptics and of the frigid cynics of the church; but it had a depth of religious zeal and a vigor of enthusiasm that were more to the point. Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705) was one of its leaders. He had held private meetings for the deepening of the spiritual life, which he described as *ecclesiolæ in ecclesia*, "little churches within the church." The members of these groups were characterized by asceticism and otherworldliness, like the English Puritans. Pietism spread, in spite of opposition, even to the universities of Leipzig and Halle, where it was represented by Hermann Francke (1663-1727). It also quickened missionary enthusiasm and sent to India such men as Ziegenbalg, Plütschau, and Schwartz.

4. The Moravians.

The Thirty Years' War had depleted Protestantism in Bohemia. Some members of the Hussite Church had found refuge in Poland, where they united with the Reformed Calvinist Church. They, however, retained the episcopal succession in the person of Comenius, who later consecrated Peter Jablonski as bishop. He passed

on the bishopric to his son, Daniel Ernst Jablonski, who consecrated Nitschmann as missionary bishop for the West Indies in 1735, and Count Zinzendorf in 1737. This brings us to the *Unitas Fratrum*, some of whose members, led by Christian David, had fled to Germany in 1722 and settled on the estate of Zinzendorf, where they founded the village of Herrnhut. Five years later, Zinzendorf assumed the leadership of these Moravians, who were greatly quickened by the prevailing Pietism. Their missionary enthusiasm received a stimulus, and their representatives were found in Greenland, the West Indies, Georgia, Pennsylvania, Labrador, Egypt, South Africa. Zinzendorf had meanwhile overcome his Lutheran scruples, and in 1745 he helped to reorganize the Moravian Church. Herrnhut was the headquarters. The American branch established itself in Bethlehem and Nazareth, Pennsylvania. A semimonastic settlement was founded in Ephrata, Pennsylvania, by John Kelpius, who held Adventist views (1674). This company of monks and nuns labored for several years, but the work practically ceased after the American Revolution.

5. John Wesley and the Evangelical Revival.

England received Pietism from Germany in exchange for rationalism. The spiritual lethargy and moral laxity of the English Church were oppressive. Bishop Butler refused the archbishopric of Canterbury, saying: "It is too late for me to try to support a falling church." Nonconformity was vitiated by Unitarianism, and its churches were in a state of decay. The manners and morals of the people were unmentionable in riotousness and crime. Just as the revival of the fourteenth century originated in Oxford University under Wycliffe, so this ancient seat of learning gave birth to another revival

in the eighteenth century, though in both instances the university authorities showed scant hospitality and severe enmity to the leaders. John Wesley (1703–91) was the man destined to stem the tides of materialism and usher in a new age. What the philosophers and theologians could not do, and in the face of their pedantic obscurantism, he was able to accomplish through the Evangelical Revival. It was ascetic in spirit and individualistic in tendency, but its practical purpose and methods exercised a redemptive influence on religious and social life. It was linked with the Reformation by many ties, but, unlike the Protestantism of the sixteenth century, it emphasized the imperative obligation to evangelize the whole world. This was partly due to the impact of missionary Moravianism.

The blood of martyrs was in the veins of John Wesley. In 1662 his paternal grandfather, John Wesley, was ejected from Winterbourne, Whitchurch, and imprisoned for nonconformity. In the same year his maternal grandfather, Samuel Annesley, was ejected from Cripplegate vicarage for the same reason. His own father, Samuel, was a sturdy soul, and his mother, Susanna, had sterling qualities. The Holy Club was established in 1726, the same year that John Wesley was elected Fellow of Lincoln's College. Its members met in Wesley's rooms for the devotional study of the Greek Testament. Among them were Charles Wesley (1707–88), the celebrated hymnologist, and George Whitefield (1714–70), the eloquent preacher. The missionary enterprise of the Wesleys in Georgia in 1735 was a failure. It was, however, the prelude to a later success, due to the influence of Peter Böhler and Zinzendorf, of the Moravian Church. John Wesley's conversion took place, May 24, 1738, at an Anglican Society meeting in Aldersgate Street, but it was the

mystical piety of the Moravians that brought him spiritual satisfaction. The evangelism in which he now engaged with his brother Charles spread the fires of revivalism throughout England. His *Journal* is a witness to extensive itineraries and sleepless zeal, during fifty years of preaching, organizing, writing. At his death in 1791, "the sound of a trumpet and the voice of words" were not silenced, for Methodism had already assumed worldwide proportions. The hostility of the leaders of Anglicanism resulted in an independent organization known as the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

6. Results of the Evangelical Revival.

The revival in England bore fruit in unexpected directions. Both Anglicanism and Dissent were quickened. Among the Anglican leaders were John Newton, the hymnologist, Thomas Scott, the commentator, William Grimshaw, later celebrated by the sisters Brontë, and Charles Simeon of Cambridge University. A band of wealthy laymen organized a group known as the Clapham Sect. It became noted for humanitarian endeavors, such as the abolition of the slave trade (1807) and of slavery in the British Empire (1833). Conspicuous among them were Zachary Macaulay, William Wilberforce, and Hannah More. Prison reform was executed by John Howard. The Sunday-school movement was inaugurated by Robert Raikes in 1780. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1699 by Thomas Bray, a commissioner of the Anglican Church in Maryland, was merged in 1701 in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The Methodist Book Concern was founded in New York in 1789; the Baptist Missionary Society in England in 1792, through the activities of William Carey, the first missionary to India; the interdenominational London.

Missionary Society in 1795; the Church Missionary Society and the Religious Tract Society in 1799.

7. George Whitefield.

George Whitefield, who was a Calvinist, separated from John Wesley, who held Arminian views. He was supported by Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, who established societies and chapels, which became known as the "Lady Huntingdon's Connexion." These Calvinist dissenters were, however, inspired by the same spirit of Wesley's evangelicalism. Whitefield's pulpit ministrations stirred the English-speaking world. In America, where he died, his evangelistic campaigns produced the Great Awakening. He did not have the organizing skill of Wesley, but the services of this undenominational evangelist were of considerable value before and after the American Revolution.

8. Religion in America.

The various settlements in America had received their religious influences from Europe. Congregationalism was established in New England, with the coming of the Pilgrims and the Puritans in 1620 and 1628. The latter belonged to the Church of England, but following the example of the Pilgrim colony at Plymouth, they organized Congregational churches in Salem, Boston, and other towns. The Connecticut colony, under Thomas Hooker (1634-36) and the New Haven colony under John Davenport (1638) also had Congregational churches. By 1700 they had multiplied throughout New England, which has been the stronghold of Congregationalism, with its emphasis on the autonomy of the local church. Its principles of religious freedom and of the importance of an educated ministry, its system of fellowship with sister churches, and its missionary

activities, have enabled this denomination, by reason of its union of scholarship with spirituality, to exercise a beneficial influence in American religious life. It was this denomination that founded Harvard College (1636) and Yale College (1701).

A Presbyterian colony was founded on Massachusetts Bay in 1625, and in 1629 a church was established by Samuel Skelton. The Scotch-Irish immigrants from Ulster found a leader in Francis Makemie, who was engaged in missionary work from 1691, between New York and South Carolina. The first American presbytery was organized in Philadelphia (1706), and such was the growth of this church that a synod was formed (1716), comprising the presbyteries in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Delaware. This church also followed the tide of population westward and ministered to frontier needs. During the American Revolution, the Presbyterian Church was outspoken in its defense of civil and religious liberty. One of its ministers, John Witherspoon, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. The first General Assembly met in May, 1788. Like the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians stressed the importance of an educated ministry, and established many colleges and seminaries, chief of which were Princeton College (1746) and Princeton Theological Seminary (1812).

When the Edict of Nantes was revoked in 1685, many Huguenots emigrated to other European countries. They who came to America were largely absorbed by the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist Churches. The German Reformed Church from the Rhine provinces and the Swiss cantons established congregations in New York, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Carolina, and Georgia. One of their leaders was Michael Schlatter (1716-90), who united these scattered con-

gregations into a synod in 1747. The Dutch Reformed Church had its first congregation in New York City in 1628, and thereafter spread through the Hudson valley and other sections of New York and New Jersey. A reference has already been made to the Moravians and the Mennonites. The lay, or local, preachers of Methodism have always been a beneficial influence. The first American Methodist meeting was held in New York City (1766) by Philip Embury, an Irish carpenter and a local preacher. Methodism spread rapidly, and to meet the needs of his increasing American followers, John Wesley ordained Thomas Coke (1747-1814) as superintendent, or bishop, with authority to ordain Francis Asbury (1745-1816) his colleague. The Methodist Episcopal Church was organized at the Christmas Conference, December 24, 1784, held in Baltimore.

Under the preaching of Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen (1691-1747) of the Dutch Reformed Church, in New Jersey, and of Jonathan Edwards (1703-58) of the Congregational Church, in Massachusetts, revivals began, which assumed nationwide significance when Whitefield commenced his evangelism in 1739. The Great Awakening was felt by all the denominations. Jonathan Edwards, of Northampton, was the outstanding personality of the time. Keen in philosophy and theology, he exercised a pervasive power. The Baptists in America owed their beginnings to Roger Williams, and churches of this denomination were founded in Massachusetts, Maine, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina, in the face of much opposition from the authorities (1662-83). Though they took little part in the Great Awakening, they received many accessions from Congregationalists who were converted during this movement. Many of these went South, and out of the revivals in the Southern States the numbers of Baptists

were greatly increased. They have since continued to multiply in all parts of America. The Protestant Episcopal Church was established in 1789, independent of the Church of England, and the names of Bishops Samuel Seabury, William White, Samuel Provost, deserve to be commemorated as genuine leaders of religious progress. The first American synod of the Lutheran Church was formed in Philadelphia by Heinrich Muhlenberg in 1748, and other synods were established in New York and North Carolina in 1786. A similar separation from Holland was effected by the Dutch and German Reformed Churches in 1792 and 1793.

The effects of rationalism appeared in America in the rise of Universalism. Its organizer was John Murray, who taught that Christ had made full payment for the sins of all men, and that at the Judgment all unbelief would be forgiven. A modified form of it was advocated by Elhanan Winchester, a Baptist preacher of Philadelphia, and by Hosea Ballou, who rejected the Trinitarian creed. Unitarianism was primarily a protest against the doctrines of total depravity and eternal punishment. It exalted the humanity of Christ, but failed to reckon adequately with the truth of the Incarnation. King's Chapel, Boston, an Episcopal Church, adopted an anti-Trinitarian liturgy in 1785. Several Congregational churches in New England swung over to the Unitarian creed. Harvard University also became the stronghold of this faith. William Ellery Channing (1780-1842), by his learning, devoutness, and eloquence, was the foremost leader of Unitarianism. In 1825 the American Unitarian Association was established. Although Universalism and Unitarianism have registered a small growth, they rendered great service in liberalizing Protestantism. The mystical teachings of

Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), the Swedish scientist, secured followers in his native land, in England, Germany, and later in America. They are known as the “New Jerusalem Church.”

9. Roman Catholicism.

Protestantism had certainly taken on new life, but Romanism had lost no ground. Its missionaries were found in China, India, Ceylon, and America, through the aggressive propaganda of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits. Extensive work was undertaken in the South American states, in Central America, and California, where the missions were generously supported by the Spanish Government. The first Roman Catholic Synod in North America was held in Baltimore, 1791, where John Carroll was bishop. On his death in 1817, Roman Catholicism was firmly entrenched in the United States, and it has been greatly strengthened by European immigration.

The struggle for the independence of national churches from the Pope was waged in France between the Jansenists, who denied papal power in temporal matters, and the Ultramontanes, who were Jesuits, and who affirmed it. The Gallican Church asserted and justified its freedom. Its theses, as expounded by Quesnel in *The New Testament with Moral Reflections*, were maintained as lawful by forty doctors of the Sorbonne. Pope Clement XI issued the bull *Unigenitus* (1713) and this was followed by the order to destroy the convent of Port Royal, the centre of Jansenism. Ultramontanism means power from beyond the mountains, that is, the Alps, and originating from Rome. This claim of papal authority was repudiated not only by France, but also Germany and Austria. The worldliness of the papacy had again called forth complaints against the

Curia in 1673. They were renewed when Charles VII was elected Emperor in 1742. A report by Nikolaus von Huntheim, auxiliary Bishop of Trier, advocated conclusions similar to the Gallican Church. This book was placed on the Index, but the Pope was fighting against time. The suppression of the Jesuits by Pope Clement XIV in 1773 crippled this order for a time, but it really reacted against the papacy. Many Jesuits took refuge in Prussia and Russia. After a brief period of abeyance, the order was revived by Alphonsius Ligouri (1696–1787), and it is to-day one of the dominant forces of Romanism. Protestantism was too strong for Roman Catholicism in England. The “no Popery” agitations and the Gordon Riots of 1780, were so virulent that Gibbon, the historian, wrote: “The month of June, 1780, will ever be marked by a dark and diabolical fanaticism which I had supposed to be extinct.” This mob excitement of rabid Protestantism cost Edmund Burke his seat in Bristol at the general election the following summer, and re-established the moribund government of Lord North. Similar disabilities were experienced by Scotch Roman Catholics, until the Bill of 1793 finally gave freedom from penalties.

10. The Eastern Churches.

The Eastern Orthodox Church opposed any reunion with the Roman Catholic Church. Cyrillus Lucaris, patriarch of Alexandria and afterward of Constantinople, who presented the Alexandrine manuscript of the Bible to Charles I of England in 1628, was in favor of the principles of the Reformed Church. He was opposed by the Greeks and Jesuits, imprisoned in the Seven Towers, and later killed by the Janissaries on charges of stirring the Cossacks against the Turks. In 1640, Peter Mogila submitted an “Orthodox Confes-

sion" to his synod. It was indorsed by the Council of Jerusalem (1672), which also accepted the Confession of Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem. About 1666, a schism took place in the Russian Church, known as the Isbraniki, a Pietistic group. Peter the Great introduced radical changes, when he abolished the Patriarchate in 1700 and replaced it with the Holy Synod, presided over by a layman called the High Procurator, who was popularly known as "the eye of the Czar." Religious toleration was granted to all, but the spread of Romanism was held up.

II. Literature and Religion in England.

Soon after the bull *Unigenitus* was issued, an overture was made by William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, to unite the Anglican and Gallican churches. It came to nought, partly through the death of the French theologian, Du Pin who began the negotiation, and in part to Jesuit opposition, aided by Archbishop Dubois. A reunion with the Eastern Church, undertaken by certain Nonjuror clergy also collapsed, as did also the proposal to unite with Rome in 1704. In international affairs, England had reached a position of eminence by 1763, due to the brilliant statesmanship of Robert Walpole and William Pitt the elder. The literary activities of the middle of the eighteenth century were associated with the names of Fielding, Richardson, Sterne, Johnson, Gray, Goldsmith. It was hardly an age of romance, for moderation was the acknowledged virtue in church and state. There was an exception in the spirit of theological controversy, as seen in the bitter language used of Wesley by Toplady, author of "Rock of Ages," and by Rowland Hill, and in the vehement denunciations of Dissenters by Sacheverell, one of the popular pulpiteers of London.

12. An Age of Revolutions.

This was, moreover, an age of revolutions. The self-complacency of England was largely responsible for the American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776. The horrors of the French Revolution were not repeated on English soil, largely because of the Evangelical Revival. The industrial revolution came when wage-earners violently reacted against capitalistic exploitation. Political economists like Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations* and Ricardo in *Principles of Political Economy*, virtually indorsed existing conditions, where workers received a minimum subsistence that kept them at a single remove from starvation. Organized Christianity which represented vested interests evaded this intolerable situation. Such evangelical humanitarians as Wilberforce urged the poor to be contented with their lot, and held out the prospect of betterment in the next world. The cause of the poor was largely championed by leaders outside the church. They were called Freethinkers, and received much of their inspiration from the Encyclopædists and Revolutionists of France. Much, however, was accomplished by the Evangelical Revival. It gave the working classes a new sense of responsibility, and afforded opportunities for education. When the social conscience at last dawned, they were able to fight their own battles for a larger measure of the treasure and leisure and pleasure of life.

XI

ROMANTICISM AND CRITICISM

(1791-1900)

1. Individualism and Individuality.

Individualism was the watchword of the eighteenth century, but its assertion of freedom from external authority and ignoring of social responsibilities were found to be inadequate. The industrial revolution was a protest against mechanical inventions that turned man into a cog in the machine. The materialistic standards had begun to vulgarize life, seen in the drab ugliness of most cities. The famine of 1795 in England was met by doles out of the rates, by a legislation which evaded the problem of low wages and substituted charity for justice. The millennium that rationalism dreamed of had not come, and its prospects were very dubious. The otherworldliness of evangelicalism virtually postponed the solution to the life beyond. A new watchword came with the nineteenth century. It was individuality, which recognizes the social tie that binds mankind into a correlated whole. Judged from the standpoints of religion, philosophy, literature, science, sociology, politics, it is the most wonderful century in history.

2. Literature and Politics in England.

The coldness of rationalism and the one-sidedness of revivalism were to be replaced by warmth and fulness, due to efforts to think through the varied problems. This change was evidenced in English poetry. The names of Blake, Burns, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Scott,

Coleridge, Wordsworth, Tennyson, the Brownings, Morris, the Rossettis, Arnold, Clough, Swinburne represent a galaxy of the first magnitude, rivalled only by the days of Queen Elizabeth. The literature of complacency was superseded by the writings of Carlyle, Ruskin, Dickens, Thackeray, Charles Reade, Kingsley, George Eliot, Lamb, Meredith, Hardy, Stevenson. The investigations of science were furthered by Darwin, Wallace, Spencer, Tyndall, Huxley, whose theory of evolution has itself undergone evolutionary changes for the better. The philosophy of Locke, Hume, and Mansel was followed by the ethical idealism of Green, Caird, Martineau. The political leadership of Burke, Pitt, and Fox, whose protestations could not prevent the loss of the American colonies, was succeeded by that of Gladstone, Bright, Salisbury, Chamberlain, Disraeli, under whom the British Empire expanded, especially after Clive's conquest of India. All these changes were to bear fruit in theology, and to introduce radical innovations in the mission of the church.

3. The Enlightenment.

The rationalistic movement was more thorough in Germany than in England. The Lutheran Church was barren intellectually and spiritually. The advocates of emancipation from traditionalism thus found the course clear. Wolff, Lessing, Reimarus were the pioneers of the enlightenment. It was marked by a spirit of negation and shallow confidence, due to a lack of the historic sense. This was seen in the erratic criticisms which denied the supernatural in the Scriptures, and treated church history as a series of aberrations. These views were held even by some leaders of the church, such as Semler, Ernesti, Michaelis. The same was true in Holland, where the remonstrants were Socinians. They

differed little from the rationalists of England, where many pastors of the State Church followed a liberalism that ranged from a rationalistic supernaturalism to the denial of miracles, the historicity of the Gospels, and a supernatural Cause.

4. Immanuel Kant.

Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) was destined to change this atmosphere by a reconstruction of Protestant theology. A philosopher and astronomer, his reverence was called forth by the moral law within and the starry heavens above. He set the world as Intelligence over against the merely phenomenal world, and he asserted that freedom is of the essence of personality. The *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) emphasized the freedom of the intellect; the *Critique of the Practical Reason* (1788) expounded the “categorical imperative” stressing moral obligation; *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* (1793) established a theistic ethics, finding the supreme standard in Christ, and declaring that Christianity is the only moral religion, whereas all other religions are merely ritual. He found no place for the supernatural in the ordinary sense, and argued that man is not created good, but to become good by the discipline of the free will. His negative attitude was Kant’s greatest weakness, especially in regard to historical religion. And yet his idea of the Kingdom of God, designed for the furtherance of the common good and emphasizing ethical obedience rather than worship and grace, did much to restore historical religion to its rightful place.

5. Romanticism and Goethe.

The pendulum was now to swing in an opposite direction. Rationalism had discounted the feelings and

impoverished the soul, and Protestant leaders had buried Jesus Christ under blankets of insipid dogmatism. While thinkers were wrangling, the superb music of Bach, Handel, Mozart, and Beethoven had awakened the soul and quickened life in the dead bones. They were to be followed by Chopin, Liszt, Schubert, Wagner, Brahms. The aroused historical sense revolted against the bondage to individualism and subjectivism. An interest was kindled in the religious and social institutions and art of the Middle Ages. The violence of the French Revolution and the sneers of the Encyclopædists amply demonstrated the futility of materialism and the folly of realizing brotherhood by dislocating society. The enthusiasm for Spinoza was as keen as that for Rousseau. The latter's declaration, "man is free and everywhere he is in chains," taken in its bald literalism, expressed a fictitious state of nature, which, however, captured the imagination of many ardent souls. Goethe (1749-1832) was the moving spirit of a brilliant group of idealistic poets and artists, such as Klopstock, author of *The Messiah*, who emphasized the immediacy of feeling; Herder, the court preacher in Weimar, whose *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry* showed insight into the moral beauty of the Old Testament, and whose *Philosophy of the History of Mankind* magnified the Christianity which voiced the soul of humanity; Schiller, whose poetic interpretations of the Kantian ethics advertised Christianity as "the only æsthetic religion." Goethe was the paragon of German literature. His encyclopædic mind is reflected in *Faust*, *Wilhelm Meister*, the *Autobiography*, and many other writings. Despite his seamy character, he was acknowledged as the pre-eminent representative prophet of the modern spirit.

The romantic movement was more than a literary and artistic revival. It had quickened desires for a re-

ligious faith that would satisfy the intellect and the heart. Some found it in Roman Catholicism, such as Stolberg (1750–1819), poet and translator; Schlegel (1772–1829), historian and art critic; Werner (1768–1823), dramatist and preacher. They did not, however, accept the ultramontanism of the papacy, and their liberalism was rejected by Rome. Frederick William III of Prussia united the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches in 1817. To enrich public worship and to strengthen Protestantism against Romanism, he also prepared a liturgy for this “United Evangelical Church.” But it expressed no definite convictions and reflected the prevalent unbelief. Many high Lutherans opposed this artificial church union and emigrated to America and Australia, thus weakening the cause of religion, which has never been advanced by a union that ignores spiritual renovation. The example of Prussia was, however, followed by other German states. The centralization of authority since 1870 resulted in the Emperor becoming the virtual pope of Germany.

6. Friedrich Schleiermacher.

A reconciliation of rationalism and pietism was effected by Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834). He argued that religion is not a system of doctrines nor a code of morals, but primarily the feeling of absolute dependence upon God, with an outcome in belief and conduct. The Christian experiences this dependence through Jesus Christ, in whom there is both redemption and renewal. This consciousness of the individual is furthermore substantiated by the church, which is the treasury of Christian testimony. In Schleiermacher’s thought, the church was not the organization but the community of souls who possess this experience.

He also maintained that Catholicism reaches Christ through the church, while Protestantism reaches the church through Christ. It was a distinct gain to give Christ the central place and to make his consciousness of God the final standard. But Schleiermacher did not appreciate the truth of the Incarnation, and he failed to identify the essential idea of Christianity with the historical fact of its origin. This is seen in the intense subjectivity of his epoch-making book, *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers*. His greatest service, however, was that in a rationalistic age he demonstrated the rights of religion and its place in human experience, and also recovered a freedom for the individual in social relations.

7. Hegel, Fichte, Schelling.

What Schleiermacher was to theology, Georg Hegel (1770–1831) was to philosophy. He conceived of the human reason as a mirror of the Eternal Reason. The process of his thought began with an affirmation or thesis, which was met by denial or antithesis, and the conflict resulted in a higher unity or synthesis. He taught that it is by this principle we understand the Absolute and advance knowledge. This was the answer to Kant's denial of man's ability to know things as they are by the intellect, and his failure to explain that the intellect is virtually the same in all persons. Fichte (1762–1814) maintained that our inner activity is reflected in the world of sense, and he asserted the note of moral strenuousness. Schelling (1775–1854) insisted that there is rational commerce between the universe of nature and man, who thinks the thoughts of God after him and who is at once the creature and the interpreter of the Eternal. Hegel, under the influence of

Platonic idealism, advanced the position that what we can know is the process and progress of the Absolute but not the origin, and that this knowledge is obtained within the realm of human experience and not of the Abstract. God is knowable through his manifestations, the greatest of which is Jesus Christ. There are two sources of divine knowledge—nature and man. The Scriptures are not a revelation but a record of it given by God to man.

8. The Tübingen School and Biblical Criticism.

This view of the Scriptures was used in a rationalistic sense by the Tübingen school. Baur (1792–1860) applied the Hegelian dialectic to the New Testament books and pushed forward their dates into the second century. This was according to a reconstruction of the early church, which he regarded as a reaction against Judaism led by Paul, rather than a creative regenerating force which it was. Strauss (1808–74) went beyond his teacher and applied the mythical theories of Niebuhr (1776–1831), the historian of Rome, to the life of Christ. What he presented was the Christ of metaphysical speculation and not the Jesus of history. This anomaly was also seen in Renan's *Life of Jesus* (1863), in which German negation was clothed in exquisite literary French. The opposition to the Tübingen school compelled scholars to make a re-study of Old and New Testaments, from the standpoints of philology, history, and comparative religion. This gave rise to the science of historical or higher criticism, which was also a reaction against the theological romanticism of Schleiermacher. Germany was divided into three camps. The liberals were represented by Paulus, Pfleiderer, Lipsius; the orthodox by Hengstenberg and Phillipi; the mediators by Neander, Tholuck, Dorner. The influ-

ence of the third group was most extensive, reaching to the United States and other lands outside Germany.

9. Albrecht Ritschl.

A thorough emphasis on religious experience was made by Albrecht Ritschl (1822-89). He argued against Baur, that the supreme merit of Christianity was due to the consciousness of Jesus experienced by the Apostolic Church. He accepted the distinction made by Lotze (1817-81) between judgments of worth and theoretical judgments. This clarified the issue raised but not solved by Kant, that things can be truly known by their activities. The position of Christ is unique, as testified by Christian experience. Through him we know the love of God in redemption, which is to be realized and furthered by the Kingdom of God. In his revolt against metaphysics and mysticism, Ritschl uttered a protest against the speculations of rationalists and the extravagances of pietists. Like Schleiermacher, he also had a defective view of the Incarnation, and had nothing to say about the pre-existence and divinity of Christ. He was satisfied to declare that for all purposes Christ had to Christians the religious value of God. Eminent historians, theologians, and Biblical scholars are numbered among Ritschl's followers, who have modified his discounting of metaphysics, and who see in comparative religion proofs of the varieties of religious experience. Among these are Harnack, Loofs, Kattenbusch, Hermann, Troeltsch, Bousset, Gunkel, Wernle. Anti-Christian tendencies expressed by the materialistic monism of Haeckel, the Buddhist pessimism of Schopenhauer, Wagner, and Hartmann, the Positivism of Comte, the superman egoism of Nietzsche, have had a brief vogue; but they could not withstand the rising tides of spiritual idealism.

10. Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

Great Britain experienced romanticism in an astonishing outburst of poetry, already mentioned, and in other ways. The spirit of liberalism was evidenced in Parliamentary action for Roman Catholic emancipation and the enfranchisement of dissenters. Reform was sorely needed in the established church. Archbishops and bishops secured their positions by political intrigue and not by the merit of piety and learning. The Act of 1838 forbade pluralities, under which one clergyman had held several livings. Reform legislation at best has only negative value, for the revival of religion comes from higher sources. One of the heralds of the new era was Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834). His *Aids to Reflection* established the distinction between reason and intuition, and in his emphasis on feeling he echoed the spiritual philosophy of Schleiermacher. The French Revolution and the downfall of Napoleon also had salutary effects.

11. The Oxford Movement.

Romanticism had given religion a new attractiveness and the church ideal began to stir the imagination of Anglicans and Free Churchmen. Oxford University was again to be the centre of religious quickening. Oriel College gave the name to a group of liberal thinkers, such as Whately, Archbishop of Dublin; Thomas Arnold, of Rugby School; Hampden, university professor of divinity. Newman, Keble, Pusey, also tutors at Oriel, were not in sympathy with these liberals, and it was through their initiative that Anglo-Catholicism, known as the Oxford Movement, originated. It really began with a sermon on *National Apostasy* preached at Oxford (1833) by John Keble, author of *The Christian Year*. This trumpet-call to the defense of the Anglican

Church was reactionary in every sense, but it created enthusiasm and gathered momentum by the advocacy of brilliant men. John Henry Newman (1801–90) was the real leader, who made sentiment by his sermons at Saint Mary's and his *Tracts for the Times*. He wrote twenty-three of these tracts, but it was the last one in the series, known as "Number Ninety," published in 1841, which brought the argument to a head and kindled the bitterest controversy. Its title was *Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles*, in which he contended that these articles were to be interpreted in the "sense of the Catholic Church," and not according to the original intent of their authors. This was regarded as a conspiracy in the interests of Romanism, and such it was. Newman entered the Church of Rome (1845) and defended himself against bitter attacks in *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, one of the greatest of religious autobiographies. He accomplished three things during his tempestuous career. One was to deepen the zeal of the Anglican Church, another was to give a better understanding of the Roman Church, a third was indirectly to enlarge the scope of the mission of the Free churches. It was a severe blow when Newman and other tractarians seceded, but the movement soon recovered under the strong leadership of Edward B. Pusey (1800–82). One beneficial effect of this revival was to produce a better type of parochial clergy and to place in the episcopacy men of parts, regardless of parties—Broad, Low, or High Church.

12. Chartism and Christian Socialism.

The Reform Bill of 1832 had not produced benefits for the working classes, as had been expected. Chartism (1838) was a radical reform which aimed to secure larger voting privileges and to devise methods of coerc-

ing the legislature, but it soon ran to seed because of fanatics who stirred up riots. The real need for such agitation, moreover, ceased with the repeal of the Corn Laws. This social revolution was not as disastrous as the upheaval in France, but it helped to create public opinion. The Oxford leaders had no message for the industrial evils of the day, and this was largely true of the evangelicals. The needs of the oppressed and the disfranchised were voiced by Robert Owen and others outside the church. These problems were now faced by churchmen, under the instigation of Lord Shaftesbury, whose evangelicalism was more humane than Wilberforce's in a former generation. John Ludlow, a barrister; Thomas Hughes, author of *Tom Brown's School Days*, and other laymen organized as Christian Socialists, to apply the principles of the gospel of love to industrial and other difficulties. Clergymen were soon identified with them. Charles Kingsley, by voice and pen, exposed the evils of exploitation.

13. Theology and Biblical Scholarship.

J. F. D. Maurice (1805-72) was, however, the great apostle of humanitarianism, and the most conspicuous liberator of Christian theology and ethics in the nineteenth century. His Broad Church views were shared by Dean Stanley, Dean Farrar, and the authors of *Essays and Reviews* (1860). This volume by Oxford scholars, in the interest of free discussion of theological topics, was significant, coming as it did the year after Darwin's *Origin of Species*. The commotion in ecclesiastical circles was intensified by Bishop Colenso's *Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined* (1862). Textual and historical criticism had called forth the labors of eminent scholars. Bengel's *Gnomon*, or "Index of the New Testament" (1742), used by John Wes-

ley in his *Notes upon the New Testament*; Wettstein's *New Testament with Various Readings* (1751); Astruc's *Conjectures* (1753); Eichorn's *Introductions to the Old and New Testaments* (1780) were an earnest of what Biblical criticism was yet to produce. Another volume of essays, *Lux Mundi* (1890), also emanating from Oxford scholars, added fuel to the fires of controversy, due to the inability of many to think dispassionately, who rush to hasty conclusions.

14. The Free Churches in England.

The Free churches, which far outnumbered the Established Church in England, received a great impetus after the Reform Bill of 1832. Their growing consciousness of the church as a supernatural society was a healthy sign. This has been seen in the tendency to discard such divisive and sectarian terms as Nonconformist and Dissenter, although still justifiably retaining the respective names of their several denominations. Their mutual relations are, moreover, cordial, and the principle of federation, making headway, is auspicious of the better day of unity, if not even of union. The social conscience has awakened in Free-churchism, largely due to the militant and aggressive work of General William Booth (1829-1912), founder of the Salvation Army.

15. Presbyterianism in Scotland.

Presbyterianism became the state church in Scotland (1690); but questions of patronage and the choice of ministers led to secessions under Ebenezer Erskine and Thomas Gillespie, who were intensive individualists. The blight of rationalism had infected the Scotch clergy, and one effect was moderatism, which depreciated the spiritual elements of Christianity in preference for a

cold morality. The warmth of evangelicalism was to be restored by Thomas Chalmers (1780–1847). He was instrumental in establishing two hundred and twenty churches. In protest against the patronage system, he withdrew from the state church with over four hundred ministers and founded the Free Church of Scotland (1843). This movement was contemporaneous with tractarianism, but while Anglo-Catholicism was concerned with doctrinal and ceremonial issues, the Scotch revolt had to do with the constitutional rights of church government. Most of the secession bodies united in 1847 as the United Presbyterian Church. In 1900 the United Presbyterian and the Free Church became one body, taking the name of the United Free Church of Scotland. A minority of the Free Church, mostly in the Highlands, protested against this union, and an adjustment was made by a parliamentary commission in 1905 between the “Wee Frees” and the majority. Theological controversy has had a place in the Scotch churches. The Westminster Confession had been the ruling symbol. John McLeod Campbell, one of the first to challenge its position, was deposed (1831). His book, *The Nature of the Atonement* (1856), set forth the universality of God’s love in the divine sacrifice for the redemption of all mankind. James Morrison was expelled from the Secession Church in 1841 for holding the same views. The trial of Fergus Ferguson by the United Presbyterian Church (1877–78) dealt with issues that covered the whole range of Christian theology, occasioned by an attempt to reconcile conscience with creed. It ended with an “affectionate admonition” to Ferguson, who retained his church in Glasgow. Robertson Smith did not fare as well at the hands of the Free Church. He lost his chair at Aberdeen (1881) for maintaining the rights of modern criticism. The evangelistic

mission of Moody and Sankey (1873-75) gave a decidedly evangelical tinge to modern thought. Henry Drummond was one of the radiant influences for Christianity in the Scotch universities and among the ministry.

16. Roman Catholicism on the Continent.

Roman Catholicism made strides in spite of setbacks. The states of the church in France were restored to the papacy by Napoleon in terms of the Concordat of 1801, and the Organic Articles of 1802, which also restored their religious rights to Protestants. The Holy Roman Empire of unholy memories was dissolved in 1806, when Francis II, of Austria, surrendered his title of Holy Roman Emperor. Reactionism followed the second abdication and downfall of Napoleon, after the battle of Waterloo, June 18, 1815. Pope Pius VII, on his return to Rome in 1814, after being a prisoner of Napoleon for five years, reinstated the Society of Jesus, which was suppressed in 1773. This papal recognition of the Jesuits was regarded as an ominous sign, even by the Catholic countries of France and Spain, where their influence had always been disastrous. Encouraged by Catholic emancipation and the secession of the Oxford leaders, Pius IX, in 1850, re-established the Roman Catholic diocesan episcopate, which was abolished in England at the Reformation. In 1878 Leo XIII signaled his enthronement by re-establishing the episcopate in Scotland, and in 1896 he declared Anglican orders invalid.

The republican revolution of Mazzini (1805-72) failed, but it roused Italian patriotism and stimulated Garibaldi (1807-82), the liberator and unifier of Italy, through whose campaigns the Kingdom of Italy was established under Victor Emmanuel in 1861. The states

of the church were confiscated in 1870, and the Pope became a nominal sovereign, whose temporal rule was confined to the Vatican, the Lateran, and Castel Gandolfo. What was lost in temporalities was more than gained in spiritualities, when the Vatican Council, convened by Pius IX (1869), declared the dogma of papal infallibility. By this pronouncement the Pope was exalted above the church, ultramontanism triumphed over Gallicanism, and the fatal casuistry of Liguori reasserted itself through the Jesuits. Many eminent prelates were opposed to the new dogma. The most important dissenter was Döllinger (1799–1890), the distinguished German theologian and historian. He was excommunicated for repudiating it, and joined the Old Catholic Church. It had been recently organized, and later it united with the Old Church of Holland, founded by the Jansenists in Utrecht after their centre at Port Royal was destroyed by royal mandate. This church has not made much progress in western Europe, though a branch known as the Mariaviten is zealous in Poland. Roman Catholicism in the United States has increased largely through immigration from Ireland and southern Europe.

17. The Eastern Churches.

The Eastern Orthodox Church has had a precarious existence. In Greece and the Near East it has suffered from the iniquitous misgovernment of the Turks and the irresponsible Phanariot Greek officials. Patriarch Gregory V was hanged in his vestments (1822) outside the door of his Church of Saint George. The War of Independence (1830) finally destroyed the bondage of Greece to the Sultan, and the Greek national parliament established the church with a Holy Synod. Its independence was at length recognized by the Patriarch of

Constantinople (1850), and its unity in doctrine was acknowledged in 1863. The example of Greece was followed by the churches of Bulgaria (1870), Serbia (1879), Roumania (1885). The movement of Hellenization has, however, left these and other branches of the Eastern Church in a state of enmity. The church in Russia has been in an anomalous condition, as might be expected in a land where "misgovernment is a tradition." The Germanizing policies of Peter the Great were followed by his successors. Where the higher clergy were the tools of an aristocratic and despotic state, it was inevitable that the lower clergy and laity would be kept in subjection, and that superstition would propagate evils among a people like the Russians, who have a genius for religious mysticism. Sects exhibiting the martyr spirit and practising extravagant austerities, including suicide and immolation, have multiplied. Among these are the Raskols, the Philipposfsky, the Iskàleli Khristà "Christ-seekers," the Stranniki "Runners," the Shakouni "Jumpers," the Molokans, the Doukhobors, the Stundists. The Russian Church was the only branch of the Eastern Church that engaged in missionary work. Among its missionaries, honorable mention must be made of Bishop Innocent of Kamchatka; Ilminski, who labored among the Moslem Tartars; and Bishop Nicolai, who, on his death in 1912, had established a church in Japan of more than thirty-six thousand communicants, and every priest a Japanese.

18. Missionary Activity.

The impulse to missionary work given by the Evangelical Revival continued to bear fruit in many directions in the nineteenth century. The British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in 1804; the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (1810);

the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (1813); the American Baptist Missionary Society (1814); the Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society (1819); the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions (1837). On the Continent the missionary enthusiasm of the Moravians was felt by all the churches, finding expression in the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society (1815); the Danish Missionary Society (1821); the Berlin and Paris Societies (1824). Roman Catholic Missions were found in all parts of the world, under the auspices of the several orders. It was a radical change from the opposition to missions of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1796, to the sacrificial support during the nineteenth century given by all the Scotch churches. As a result of the fidelity to missionary work shown by all the churches, the conversions to Christianity have been numerous. So definite has been the impact on the traditions and customs of non-Christian lands, so varied the programme for evangelizing and Christianizing, that the achievements of missions furnish a powerful apologetic for the grace of the gospel and the guidance of the church.

19. Christianity in the United States and Canada.

The separation of church and state in the United States gave a decided advantage to American Christianity. On the other hand, Protestant individualism and independence have multiplied sects and over-churched communities, precipitating unworthy competitions and needless duplications. Divisions also came out of the religious revivals. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church has had a steady growth since 1816. Thomas Campbell and his son Alexander, while deprecating sectarianism, separated from this church and organized what since 1827 has been known as the Dis-

ciples of Christ, now a strong denomination. Religious cults, emphasizing fragments of Christian truth, have increased amazingly, among them being Mormonism, Adventism, New Thought, Christian Science, Theosophy, and Spiritualism. They have reacted on Protestantism, showing for one thing that the churches have not lived up to their high ideals. The slavery question, followed by the Civil War, further disrupted the churches. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was a secession from the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1845. Other separations took place in the Baptist and Presbyterian denominations on the same issue. Theological controversy was rife, the most notable being the Andover clash in Congregationalism (1885-92), and that which led to the deposition of Professor Charles A. Briggs by the Presbyterian General Assembly (1893). The Student Volunteer Missionary Movement (1886) united with similar movements in Great Britain and Germany to form the World's Student Christian Federation (1896). The International Sunday School Association, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations with their comprehensive constructive programmes, the Christian Endeavor Society, the Epworth League, the Luther League, the Brotherhood of Saint Andrew, and the Women's Foreign and Home Missionary Societies still display considerable activity. Revivals of religion were a characteristic feature of church life in the nineteenth century. One of the most unique took place after a financial panic in 1858. Beginning at a noon-day prayer-meeting of business men in John Street Methodist Episcopal Church, it spread throughout the nation like a prairie fire, and during the year of its activity there were half a million converts. Among prominent evangelists were Charles G. Finney, Dwight L. Moody, and Ira D. Sankey.

In the Dominion of Canada, the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches kept pace with the extraordinary development of that country. Nowhere is organized religion in a more flourishing condition. The union of the theological schools in Eastern and Western Canada was followed by steps looking toward organic union of the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregationalist Churches, now happily consummated. This healthy advance will doubtless react favorably on the Christianity of the United States, and, indeed, of the whole world.

XII

THE PRESENT TASK

1. Progress through Controversy.

One of the paradoxes of Christianity is the way it has enlisted rational and non-rational elements in its service. To the coldly scientific mind this is an inexplicable contradiction, but in the perspective of history that views the wholeness of life, we know that higher unity has often been attained by the clash of opposites. All history is a record of controversy, but through this disconcerting yet clarifying medium the world has steadily advanced. Through disputation the positions of Christianity have really been strengthened. It has recovered ground lost by error and corruption, renewed its youth, and pressed forward with gains wrested from the spoilers, for the enlargement and enrichment of life.

2. Three Constructive Influences.

Three forces have exercised a paramount and abiding influence on Christianity. Faith in the providential overrule of God was the contribution of Hebrew religion. Intellectual passion, with its insistence on accuracy and culture, was the gift of Greece. The stability of law which makes for the development of political and social life came from Rome. Christianity united all three in a synthetic whole, and at various periods of its history one or other or all have been conspicuous. From the fifth century, when the Roman Empire broke down, to the end of the Middle Ages, the prevailing type of Christianity was Latin. The revolt against the rigidity of

ecclesiastical institutions began with the Renaissance, due to the humanism of Greek culture. A further revolt was made at the Reformation, occasioned by a return to the Scriptures and the rediscovery of the direct relations of the individual to God. Under the impulse of the religious freedom that ensued and in spite of the dissidence of Dissent, these three forces were at work contemporaneously for over a century. Corruption and exhaustion again weakened the church, and these were overcome by the Hebraism of the Evangelical Revival, the Latinism of the Anglo-Catholic movement, and the Hellenism of the Broad Church party. They are still in evidence, working at cross-purposes, as they have often previously done. But the currents are beginning to flow in a new direction, and we are justified in looking for a synthesis of the good, the true, and the beautiful in what might be called an Evangelical Catholicism. In the nineteenth century these three were combined in Carlyle, Matthew Arnold, and Robert Browning in England, and by Emerson, Lowell, and Whittier in America. In the religious and philosophical spheres they were measurably united in T. H. Green, Edward Caird, James Martineau, Stopford Brooke, F. W. Robertson, R. W. Dale in Great Britain; and by Horace Bushnell, Josiah Royce, Phillips Brooks, Henry Ward Beecher, William James in the United States.

3. Authority and Liberty.

The liberalism of the age was evidenced when the English Parliament, hitherto an assembly of lay Anglicans, was thrown open to Nonconformists, Roman Catholics, and non-adherents of organized Christianity. Such a test has never been imposed on the members of the House of Representatives or the Senate, doubtless because church and state have always been separate in

the United States. Protestantism is, however, the ruling element in both English-speaking nations, and the prospects are that it will so continue. The ideas of authority and liberty have never been reconciled in Germany or among Continental peoples, where faith and criticism are yet in conflict. Such opposition was also found in Great Britain and the United States, though it was not quite as severe. It must, however, be acknowledged that in the latter country, due doubtless to the struggles to control and develop its vast resources, religious thought has been stationary and at times reactionary.

We have yet to grasp thoroughly the distinction between free thinking and fettered thinking, and to maintain the Protestant right and duty of unencumbered investigation for the truth. The alarmist utterances of the nineteenth century, that condemned science because it conflicted with the traditional view of revelation, clearly demonstrated that these spokesmen of the church understood neither religion nor science. It is now being insisted that Christian faith reckons with the whole of life, which is a harmonious development of the intellectual, emotional, spiritual, and volitional elements, that guard against the pitfalls of dogmatism, mysticism, formalism, and individualism. A faith that does not serve is a misnomer. A faith limited by ancient creeds, to be upheld according to the Vincentian Canon of the fifth century, and accepted by us without inquiry, because it has been "believed everywhere, always, and by all" of a former day, will find no response from the modern scientific and religious consciousness.

To be sure, the ethical triumphs of Christianity have been notable, but the connection between religion and morality needs to be tightened. This is the more necessary since accepted moral sanctions are losing their

hold, due to political, economic, educational, and ethical changes, which have undermined faith in an infallible church and an infallible Bible. The emancipation of woman has established the principle of the equality of the sexes and introduced a new situation calling for readjustment all along the line. The loss of confidence in some social and religious values threatens to destroy confidence in all values. The spirit of revolt and of restlessness has led to a challenging attitude on the part of the thoughtful youth in every land. They are impelled by a desire to know how to relate familiar sanctions that are outworn but insistent, to the newer demands that have the elements of novelty, uncertainty, and peril, which always attract youthful adventuresomeness. Will the church insist on the *status quo* because of self-complacency, and require its adherents to submit to the test of orthodoxy which is rigid and set, rather than the test of truth which is flexible and emancipating but not erratic nor out of harmony with the essential message of the Incarnate and Redeeming Christ? Such an attitude would weaken the hold of Christianity on the present generation, because it is clearly in violation of the principle of spiritual freedom, and confuses authority with dogmatism and liberty with license.

4. Some Might-have-beens.

What have we learned from the half-forgotten controversies and misadventures of faith in the past? If the Holy Roman Empire had held the balance of faith between church and state with consideration for the claims of individuals and of society, we might have had a consolidation of nations pledged to brotherhood and the ultimate outlawry of war. If the Lutheran Church had had a clear conception of the freedom of the Chris-

tian man, Protestantism would not have come under the hand and heel of princes, and the church become a state department with distorted vision of its spiritual and moral responsibilities. If Louis XIV had not revoked the Edict of Nantes, the stalwart Huguenot population might have permeated all the institutions of France, and the bloody disasters of the Revolution might have been prevented. If the Eastern Church had not been made the tool of the Czar, to further his designing projects, and had public education spread throughout the land, Russia might have had a different history without its present dismal outlook under Sovietism. If church leaders in their attitude toward science and biblical criticism and social unrest had been more discerning and generous; if they had shown a deeper sense of the supreme importance of spiritual values and had consistently held to major ends which they professed, while evasively following minor ends; if they had engaged in the religious education of adults and youth through pulpit and classroom with thoroughness, instead of in the haphazard way that still largely prevails; if differences of opinion as to religious ideas and polity had been treated in a more conciliatory manner, would there be the present embarrassing situation of a divided and even competitive Protestantism?

5. The Reconciling Principle.

We have seen in the previous chapters how the church repeatedly opposed science and learning, under a mistaken impression that these were inimical to the faith, and later under the pressure of facts quietly appropriated the results of both for its own uses, without acknowledging its misjudgments or its indebtedness. Must the church continue to be hemmed in by the barbed-wire of misconceptions and hastily antagonize

all changes which are indiscriminately regarded as foes because they are strangers? Would it not be better for the church to suspend judgment until assured after patient investigation, whether these changes actually tend to destroy the faith or perchance offer a larger understanding of the manifold revelation of God in Jesus Christ? Is not the attitude of intellectual hospitality to truth more worthy of the temper of faith, that recognizes in variety of view-point and of interpretation divers manifestations of the one Spirit of God?

Progress is inevitable, and if the church is to maintain its spiritual leadership, it is not by allying itself with extremists, liberal or conservative, but with considerate mediators, by which we mean those who, as Saint Paul and Saint John did in their day, are trying to set forth the old truth in present terms. And they are doing it in accordance with the reconciling principle that brings the persistent faith of the gospel into relations with the findings of science and scholarship, for the enrichment of all three and for the betterment of all life. On the other hand, the refusal to recognize the compatibility between religion and science, between sanctity and learning, between faith and doubt, will continue to produce lapses from the church and ultimately discredit Christianity. This will increase rather than lessen, unless the church courageously discriminates between external and internal authority, and makes more of the communion of saints which is the very soul of the church, than a conformity to creedal standards that reflect the theological concepts of an earlier age. This means that the church is under an imperative obligation to guard against the chronic tendency to archaism, which has always stifled initiative and independence and demanded bondage to the past, as though there were no present and future. The church

is an organism pulsing with life and constant movement, and its true glory is that it goes forward toward multiplied integrations in the name of Christ. Fellowship with it is a privilege and duty, but the first can be enjoyed and the second discharged, only on the definite condition of intellectual and spiritual freedom.

6. Movements of Federation and Union.

The situation is not entirely depressing, for there is seen the silver lining in the cloud and the light is already penetrating through the darkness. The attitude of denominational antagonism and intolerance is being superseded by the better way of amity and comity, on the basis of mutual understanding, respect, and appreciation. The National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, organized in Nottingham, England (1896); the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, founded in Philadelphia (1908); the World Missionary Conference, which met in Edinburgh (1910) for a comprehensive study of the missionary enterprise; the British Committee which issued the report on *The Army and Religion* (1919); the American Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook, which have published five reports of outstanding value on various phases of the church's work and responsibility; the Institute of Social and Religious Research organized in 1921—all indicate the healthy trends in modern Protestantism. A favorable atmosphere has thereby been created for discussions of Christian unity and union. The Lambeth Conference had met every ten years since 1867, in the interests of the Church of England and of the Episcopal churches in the British Empire and the United States. At the sessions of 1920, it was decided to hold out the olive-branch to the other churches on behalf of reunion. The encyclical letter addressed to

all Christian people went beyond the Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1888. It was conciliatory, and while recognizing the superior values of diversity over uniformity, and of the benefits of federation, it magnified the goal of organic union. Fraternal discussions of the separated Christian groups have clarified the issues, but the ideal remains a hope for future realization.

The mediæval church was outwardly united, but it could not resist the perils of degeneration. Under existing circumstances, union between the Roman, Eastern, and Protestant Churches is neither practicable nor desirable. The Reformed churches have common inspirations; but sacerdotal view-points have first to be settled and the genuine inwardness of Christianity accepted as of paramount importance before there could be any possibility of organic union between them. The bane of sectarianism could be greatly lessened, if not wholly removed, by federation rather than by absorption. This is being realized where Christians combine against common abuses that affect the body politic and social. Churches with the evangelical accent are, however, nearer union. Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregationalist churches in Canada have united. The prospects are bright for the coming together of the branches of Methodism in Great Britain; of the United Free and the Established churches in Scotland; of the Methodist Episcopal churches, North and South, in the United States; of the Presbyterian and Reformed bodies, and, indeed, of many communions which once seemed determined to stand apart.

7. Church and State in Co-operation.

The church is pre-eminently a brotherhood. In this sense every church is a national church, enlisting its service for mutual well-being, regardless of class dis-

tinctions, and exerting its responsibility even to the uttermost parts of the earth. It is a perversion of the truth to think of the state as incurably evil. This is a monastic obsession, without any support in the New Testament which insists that "rulers are not a terror to the good work but to the evil" (Romans 13:3 ff.). The relations between church and state in the past have not always furthered the glory of God nor the good of mankind. The church is not a tool or creature of the state, according to the errors of Erastianism, but a co-worker with the state, to make supreme the will of God. The leaders of the state are "ministers of God for good," set in their high position for the altruistic service of their fellows. They are to discharge their stewardship, not as eye-servants nor patrons, but as the ambassadors of the Eternal for the sake of the kingdom of God, which is righteousness and peace and joy in the spirit of holiness. The same spirit of sublime devotion will also characterize the leaders of the church in their specific business of education, enlightenment, worship, and service. This implies the presence of followers. We hear a great deal about the "psychology of leadership," but, as Principal L. P. Jacks remarked, "the psychology of followership has not so far engaged the attention of experts." The problem is how to bring home to the laity the sense of their responsibility to the state by the practices of an awakened and energetic citizenship, and to the church by fulfilling their obligations of membership. The exposition of Christianity and the church has hitherto been almost a clerical monopoly. The viewpoint of the layman has only recently been considered. He has found his voice, and he will be more frequently heard from, for the sake of that Christian democracy which finds fullest realization through the brotherhood in Jesus Christ.

The reiteration of the "enthusiasm of humanity," first stressed in Seeley's *Ecce Homo* (1865), has given rise to the social gospel, with its constraints to correct industrial abuses, political evils, class animosities. This social emphasis has raised questions as to the scope of the ministration of the church. To be sure, the church has been an agency of charity and relief, but it has largely served as an ambulance corps. The perplexities of the social problem can be settled only as we deal with causes and not with symptoms. The church should not be merely a benefactor, but a minister to all classes. This calls for an understanding of the needs and duties of the rich and the poor, of capital and labor, of the politician and the voter, of the employer and the employee, of adults and youth, of parents and children, of teachers and pupils, of traders and buyers, of landlords and tenants, indeed, of every stage of community, national, and international life. The complete realization of this understanding will interpret and apply to every condition Jesus' principles of justice and of humanity. The responsibility in these matters, so far as the church is concerned, lies primarily with an educated, consecrated, and well-equipped ministry. Its ability is spiritual far more than merely administrative. This will be evidenced in the way ministers engage in an all-round constructive evangelism, that enlightens the mind, quickens the conscience, kindles devotion and spiritual power, and stimulates the will to discharge obligations with insight, sacrifice, and readiness.

"Mankind or humanity is a close-knit system of mutually influencing units." The aim of the gospel of the Incarnation is to bring together all classes and conditions into a unity where suspicions and enmities are removed by the controlling spirit of Christ. He is the Touchstone, because love, as he revealed it, is the basis

of real fellowship between individuals and nations. The peace and progress of the world depend on the solution of ethical and economic problems arising from the contacts of races and nationalities. Missionary work has already demonstrated the possibilities of peoples suffering from arrested development. The present large scope of the missionary enterprise touching educational, social, and political issues promises some satisfactory solution. The frank exposition of the Christian ideal as contrasted with existing relations between professedly Christian nations is bound to react advantageously on all peoples. The healthy growth of public opinion everywhere in favor of world-wide peace is destined to unite the forces of human welfare against militaristic reactionaries and materialistic propagandists. When repressive principles are replaced by constructive principles in dealing with weaker racial and social groups, and when the stronger realize their responsibilities to seek the larger good rather than their own immediate and selfish interests, the way will be made clear toward the final goal of world peace.

8. The Central Issue.

Christianity is different from other religions because Jesus Christ is unlike all other founders and leaders of religion. This crucial issue must be faced and positively answered. Christianity, and with it the church, will be rejuvenated or become devitalized, according to its Christology. A "reduced" Christianity offers a naturalistic Christ, referred to as the "Jesus of history": a teacher of sublime ethics and the noblest exemplar of the ideal life. A "full" Christianity does justice to the unique personality of the Christ of the whole New Testament, whose living leadership has been experienced by the church of every age, and who has won from his

followers the unanimously penetrating confession: "My Lord and my God." The last word has not yet been said on this subject, nor, indeed, will it ever be. For the divine-human character of the world's Redeemer challenges the perennial quest of every generation and offers new arguments of his eternal worth. The church will thus maintain its vitality, as its members continue to experience Christ, and to exhibit his virtues in worthy living. Indeed, the unexhausted powers of the church await further unfolding and development. It is the divine instrument for the extension of human welfare. Its mission is to be fulfilled by co-ordinating the life of the individual, the nation, and the race, through concentrated efforts to understand the all-comprehending purpose of Christianity, and through earnest attempts to live by it, with due regard to the economic, political, scientific, philosophic, and social aspects of life. This is manifestly to be done not by isolation but communication, not by patronage but partnership, not by the sectarianism of a class consciousness but by the humanitarianism of a universally fraternal spirit, inspired by the sublime truths of the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man, and the Saviourhood of Christ.

9. Summary and Review.

Our survey has covered many fields of thought and activity. We have seen that abuses and errors have marred the church's testimony, that virtues and sacrifices have glorified its service, and that it has shed a hallowing light over the seats of darkness. Paradoxical as it may seem, the very crimes and corruptions associated with the church constitute an argument for its vitality, in that it has been able to survive them and to be reclad in the garments of health and holiness. Providential revivals have followed periods of decadence

and stagnation. The church has verily had a checkered career, but ever and anon it has risen from the ashes of its desolation, to take hold again of the torch of truth and to lead toward the City of God. Empires and kingdoms have risen and disappeared. New forces are making trial of their strength, but their antagonism and threatening need not alarm the church nor should they be treated as negligible. The church which is alive to the needs of its own day has the assurance of being able to meet them, with tools forged on the anvils of eternity. The building that has weathered many storms needs to be renovated and enlarged, but the foundation is secure.

APPENDIX

I

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

6 B. C.	Birth of Jesus Christ.
27 A. D.	Baptism of Jesus Christ.
29	The Crucifixion.
35	Martyrdom of Stephen.
35	Conversion of Paul.
64	Nero's persecution.
70	Destruction of Jerusalem.
85-96	Domitian's persecution.
112	Trajan's rescript.
135	Second Jewish War.
161-180	Persecutions of Marcus Aurelius.
256	Council of Carthage.
261	Rescript of Gallienus.
303	Diocletian's persecution.
306	Council of Elvira
313	Edict of Milan.
323	Constantine crowned Emperor.
325	First Ecumenical Council of Nicæa.
343	Council of Sardica.
381	Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople.
397	Council of Carthage.
410	Fall of Rome.
431	Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus.
451	Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon.
553	Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople.
589	Council of Toledo.
680	Sixth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople.
692	Quinisextine Council of Constantinople.
732	Battle of Poitiers.

787	Seventh Ecumenical Council of Nicæa.
800	Coronation of Charlemagne.
1059	Second Lateran Council.
1096	First Crusade.
1122	Concordat of Worms.
1208	First Interdict upon England.
1212	Children's Crusade.
1215	Magna Charta.
1232	The Inquisition.
1309-76	The Avignon Schism.
1414	Council of Constance.
1440	First book printed.
1453	Fall of Constantinople.
1492	Columbus discovered America.
1517	Ninety-five theses of Luther.
1527	Sack of Rome.
1529	The Marburg Colloquy.
1531	The Schmalkaldic League.
1545	Council of Trent.
1555	Peace of Augsburg.
1572	Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day.
1580	Formula of Concord.
1588	Defeat of the Spanish Armada.
1598	Edict of Nantes.
1611	Authorized Version of the Bible.
1618	Synod of Dort.
1648	Peace of Westphalia.
1662	Act of Uniformity.
1685	Revocation of Edict of Nantes.
1689	Toleration Act.
1773	Dissolution of the Jesuits.
1776	Declaration of Independence.
1789	The French Revolution.
1801	The Concordat.
1806	Holy Roman Empire dissolved.

- 1814 Restoration of the Jesuits.
- 1815 Battle of Waterloo.
- 1832 The Reform Bill.
- 1833 The Oxford Movement.
- 1846 Repeal of the Corn Laws.
- 1857 Indian Mutiny.
- 1864 The Gettysburg Address.
- 1869 The Vatican Council.
- 1881-85 Revised Version of the Bible.
- 1901 American Revised Version of the Bible.
- 1910 World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh.
- 1919 Peace of Versailles.
- 1920 The Lambeth Appeal.

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- Coulton, G. G.: *Five Centuries of Religion*. Vol. I. (Macmillan.) Saint Bernard, his predecessors and successors, 1000-1200 A. D., and the growth of Monasticism, the Mass, Mariolatry, and other mediæval practices.
- De Burgh, W. G.: *The Legacy of the Ancient World*.

(Macmillan.) The contribution to our day of the early civilization of the East, of Greek and Roman culture, and of mediæval Christianity.

Fisher, G. P.: *History of Christian Doctrine*. (Scribner's and T. & T. Clark.) An able and discerning exposition of theological and ecclesiastical thought, with references to philosophy and science.

Foakes Jackson, F. J.: *History of the Christian Church. From the Earliest Times to A. D. 461*. (Doran.)

Foakes Jackson, F. J.: *An Introduction to the History of Christianity, 590-1314*. (Macmillan.)

Glover, T. R.: *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*. (Scribner's.) On the literary, social, and religious life of the first century B. C., and of the first two centuries A. D.

Harnack, A.: *History of Dogma*. Seven volumes. (Little, Brown.) A comprehensive critical discussion of the growth of Christian doctrine and ecclesiastical dogma, including the Reformation period.

Harnack, A.: *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*. (Putnam.) Most instructive are the side-lights on the history of early Christianity in its relation to the Roman world.

Hastings, James (editor): *Dictionary of the Bible*. One volume. (Scribner's and T. & T. Clark.) Necessary for comparing the teaching of the Bible and of the church.

Hastings, James (editor): *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. Twelve volumes. (Scribner's and T. & T. Clark.) An indispensable treasury of the world's best thought on the manifold aspects of religion.

Headlam, A. C.: *The Church and Christian Reunion*. (Longmans, Green.) The weakness and strength of the historic episcopate, frankly faced and applied to modern needs.

- Headlam, A. C.: *The Life and Teaching of Jesus the Christ.* (Oxford University Press.) The credibility of the Gospel story and the unique character of Jesus Christ, considered in the light of Biblical criticism.
- Hobhouse, W.: *The Church and the World in Idea and in History.* (Macmillan.) The impact of the world upon the church, and its effect on Christian discipleship, strikingly delineated.
- Hort, F. J. A.: *The Christian Ecclesia.* (Macmillan.) The origin and organization of the church as found in the New Testament.
- Lagarde, André: *The Latin Church in the Middle Ages.* (Scribner's and T. & T. Clark.)
- Lindsay, T. M.: *A History of the Reformation.* Two volumes. (Scribner's and T. & T. Clark.) The standard work on the subject.
- Lindsay, T. M.: *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries.* (Doran.) Written without the bias of the theory of the historic episcopate.
- Malden, R. H.: *Problems of the New Testament Today.* (Oxford University Press.) On the historical value of the New Testament as the literary expression of the actual religious and ethical experience of the early church.
- McGiffert, A. C.: *Protestant Thought before Kant.* (Scribner's.)
- Merrill, E. T.: *Essays in Early Christian History.* (Macmillan.) The persecutions of the church discussed from the standpoint of a classicist.
- Moore, E. C.: *Christian Thought since Kant.* (Scribner's.)
- Plummer, Alfred: *The Continental Reformation.* (Macmillan.) Valuable as showing the effects on the English Reformation.
- Pullan, Leighton: *Religion since the Reformation.*

(Oxford University Press.) Takes note of the Counter-Reformation and of the activities of the Eastern Church.

Rainy, Robert: *The Ancient Catholic Church*. (Scribner's and T. & T. Clark.)

Schaff, Philip: *History of the Christian Church*. Eight volumes. (Scribner's.) For detailed and accurate information there is nothing better.

Smith, Preserved: *The Age of the Reformation*. (Holt.) Helpful for the light thrown on social and industrial conditions.

Somervell, D. C.: *A Short History of Our Religion*. (Macmillan.) The period between Moses and the Lambeth Conference, treated with a sense of outstanding values.

Stawell, F. M., and Marvin, F. S.: *The Making of the Western Mind*. (Doran.) Deals with the currents of science, art, philosophy, literature, and religion in a wide and generous survey.

Stead, F. Herbert: *The Story of Social Christianity*. Two volumes. (Doran.)

Walker, W.: *A History of the Christian Church*. (Scribner's.) The best single-volume history, scholarly, thorough, and readable.

Workman, H. B.: *Christian Thought to the Reformation*. (Scribner's.)

III

REFERENCE LITERATURE FOR EACH CHAPTER

(Fuller titles of the following books are given in Appendix II)

CHAPTER I, PENTECOSTAL DAYS.

Walker, 1-50; Schaff, I, 432-480; Angus, "Environment of Early Christianity," 30-139; McGiffert, "Apostolic Age," 440-672; Glover, 113-166; Harnack, "Mission," I, 36-83; Scott, 29-161, 251-279; Foakes Jackson, "History," 1-121; Lindsay, "Church and Ministry," 3-166; Headlam, "The Church," 48-91.

CHAPTER II, TRANSITION TIMES.

Walker, 41-111; Schaff, II, 121-152, 621-866; Fisher, 22-116; Bartlet, "Apostolic Age," 459-508; Merrill, 174-201; Harnack, "Mission," I, 266-318; II, 33-88, 317-337; Glover, 238-347; Rainy, 66-240; Case, "Evolution of Christianity," 166-238; Ayer, 13-271; Foakes Jackson, "History," 122-208; Lindsay, "Church and Ministry," 169-319.

CHAPTER III, TRIUMPHS AND DEFEATS.

Walker, 112-141; Schaff, III, 10-59, 608-698; Rainy, 262-357; Fisher, 125-147; Ayer, 276-336; Harnack, "Dogma," IV, 1-163; Merrill, 242-266; Workman, 21-89; Du Bose, "Ecumenical Councils," 69-200; Bartlet and Carlyle, 81-113; De Burgh, 305-328; Foakes Jackson, "History," 279-397.

CHAPTER IV, ECCLESIASTICAL IMPERIALISM.

Walker, 141-200; Schaff, III, 72-355; IV, 17-142;

Fisher, 148-198; Rainy, 437-521; Ayer, 336-614; Harnack, "Dogma," V, 3-273; Bartlet and Carlyle, 289-349; De Burgh, 311-338, 350-361; Hobhouse, 103-165; Adeney, 85-146; Workman, 91-127; Headlam, "The Church," 92-173; Lindsay, "Church and Ministry," 323-377; Foakes Jackson, "History," 398-541, 567-588.

CHAPTER V, CHURCH AND STATE IN CONFLICT.

Walker, 200-237; Schaff, IV, 203-320, 475-620; Fisher, 199-211; Adeney, 187-241; Lagarde, 83-303; Hobhouse, 169-213; Bartlet and Carlyle, 351-419; Foakes Jackson, "Introduction," 28-144; Wells, "The Age of Charlemagne," 123-302; Cadman, "Christianity and State," 183-225; Foakes Jackson, "History," 542-566.

CHAPTER VI, CONFUSION AND CONTROVERSY.

Walker, 238-306; Schaff, V, Pt. I, 308-699; Pt. II, 186-399; Fisher, 212-267; Lagarde, 445-539; De Burgh, 362-395; Somervell, 166-199; Foakes Jackson, "Introduction," 145-381; Chesterton, "St. Francis of Assisi," 11-234; Workman, 129-159, 189-243; Cadman, "Three Leaders," 5-170; Taylor, "The Mediæval Mind," I, 369-603; II, 313-589; Harnack, "Dogma," VI, 1-317.

CHAPTER VII, THE NEW LEARNING.

Walker, 306-334; Schaff, V, Pt. II, 400-767; De Burgh, 395-408; Lindsay, "Reformation," I, 1-188; Somervell, 199-211; Workman, 161-187; Smith, 3-61; Stawell and Marvin, 141-193; Cadman, "Christianity and State," 229-269; Plummer, 40-83; Smith, "Erasmus," 117-208, 421-441.

CHAPTER VIII, THE REFORMATION.

Walker, 335-422; Schaff, VI, 1-744; VII, 1-844;

Fisher, 269-316; Lindsay, "Reformation," I, 189-488; II, 1-420; Somervell, 212-227; McGiffert, 1-99, 119-140; Headlam, "The Church," 174-207; Smith, 62-370; Green, "Short History of the English People," I, 443-583; Cadman, "Christianity and State," 273-314; Plummer, 84-176; Clark, "Anglican Reformation," 56-264; Smith, "Erasmus," 209-256, 320-403.

CHAPTER IX, THE AFTERMATH.

Walker, 422-480, 564-569; Lindsay, "Reformation," II, 421-611; Fisher, 317-369; McGiffert, 100-154; Smith, 371-698; Pullan, 1-97; Somervell, 227-251; Clark, "Anglican Reformation," 265-459; Green, "Short History," II, 1-287; Plummer, 1-39, 177-191.

CHAPTER X, RATIONALISM AND REVIVALISM.

Walker, 481-523, 569-579; Fisher, 370-437; Moore, 1-38; Pullan, 98-224; McGiffert, 155-254; Somervell, 252-264, 309; Green, "Short History," II, 287-444; Cadman, "Three Leaders," 177-384; Stawell and Marvin, 194-252.

CHAPTER XI, ROMANTICISM AND CRITICISM.

Walker, 524-564, 579-589; Fisher, 437-557; Moore, 38-238; Somervell, 265-304, 310-314; Pullan, 202-249; Leckie, "Fergus Ferguson," 1-45; Stawell and Marvin, 252-336; Cadman, "Three Leaders," 389-589.

CHAPTER XII, THE PRESENT TASK.

Somervell, 315-328; Pullan, 249-256; Hobhouse, 265-341; Cadman, "Christianity and State," 317-353; Fosdick, "Christianity and Progress," 127-247; Joseph, "The Dynamic Ministry," 11-68; Joseph, "Freedom and Advance," 43-103; Mackintosh,

"Originality of the Christian Religion," 1-28, 161-191; Rawlinson, "Authority and Freedom," 163-187; Jacks, "The Challenge of Life," 11-112; Leckie, "The Vocation of the Church," 94-252; Bowie, "Some Open Ways to God," 184-235.

IV

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. In what sense was Jesus the founder of the church?
2. What was the Apostolic Church?
3. How does the New Testament refer to it?
4. What offices were found in the early church?
5. Why were the Christians persecuted?
6. What were the chief centres of Christianity?
7. Mention and characterize some of the Christian thinkers of the second and third centuries.
8. Summarize the results obtained by the church during this period.
9. Describe the character and work of Constantine.
10. What were the four accepted marks of the church?
11. What was the significance of the Council of Nicæa?
12. What were the gains and losses to the church from the patronage of Constantine?
13. How did paganism affect Christianity?
14. What benefits were introduced by the church?
15. What causes gave superiority to the Roman see?
16. Describe the work of Leo I.
17. What was Augustine's great contribution?
18. What was the Vincentian canon?
19. Who were Jerome, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Gregory the Great?
20. Who was Charlemagne?
21. What missionary work was done in the fifth and following centuries?
22. What was the ideal of Hildebrand and how did he realize it?
23. Who was Saint Bernard?

24. Compare the Franciscan and Dominican Orders.
25. Who were Dante, Marsilius, and Wycliffe?
26. What progress followed the crusades?
27. What happened at the Council of Constance?
28. What changes took place during the Middle Ages?
29. How were the universities related to the church?
30. Who were some of the humanists?
31. What was the purpose of the ninety-five theses?
32. Describe the character of Luther.
33. Who were Zwingli and Melancthon?
34. Describe the career of Calvin.
35. What was the outcome of the Reformation?
36. Who was Ignatius Loyola?
37. Who were some of the leading Puritans in England?
38. Describe the settlements in New England and elsewhere in America.
39. What was the argument of Bishop Butler?
40. Review the work of John Wesley.
41. What was the Great Awakening?
42. Who were Kant, Schleiermacher, and Goethe?
43. Mention some of the contributions to Biblical scholarship in the nineteenth century.
44. Who were the Christian Socialists?
45. What was the growth of missionary work in this century?
46. What was the state of American Christianity?
47. What three forces have influenced Christianity?
48. What should be the relations between church and state?
49. What is the modern mission of the church?
50. What is the central issue in Christianity?

V

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH AND CLASS DISCUSSION

The private student or the leader of a class using this volume as a text-book may find the following topics suggestive for research and discussion.

CHAPTER I

1. Religious and social conditions in the first century. 2. The results of John the Baptist's ministry. 3. The universalism of Jesus as taught in the Gospels. 4. The conception of the church in the Epistle to the Ephesians. 5. Types of thought represented by the writers of the New Testament. 6. The names by which the Christians were known.

CHAPTER II

1. The worship of the early church. 2. Emperor-worship and its claims. 3. Mithraism as a rival of Christianity. 4. Montanism and its protest against worldliness. 5. Gnosticism and how it was met by the church. 6. The Roman symbol and the Apostles' Creed.

CHAPTER III

1. The origin and purpose of the episcopacy. 2. The teachings of Donatism, Monarchianism, Manichæism. 3. The belief of the church concerning the Person of Christ. 4. Compare Arianism and Athanasianism. 5. The contributions of Christian art, music, and architecture. 6. The social and religious conditions of the people.

CHAPTER IV

1. Who were the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Vandals, and Huns? 2. The effect of paganism upon Christianity. 3. Compare the Eastern and Western Churches. 4. The origin and spread of Monasticism. 5. The Council of Chalcedon. 6. Augustine's view of the church.

CHAPTER V

1. The political condition of Europe. 2. The Holy Roman Empire. 3. The church councils and their achievements. 4. The Donation of Constantine. 5. The relations between church and state. 6. The Concordat of Worms.

CHAPTER VI

1. The Crusades. 2. The Franciscan and Dominican Orders. 3. The Inquisition and the Interdict. 4. Scholasticism and its leaders. 5. The representatives and teachings of Mysticism. 6. The Avignon Schism.

CHAPTER VII

1. The causes of the Renaissance. 2. Its effect in Italy, Spain, France, Germany, and England. 3. The rise of nationalism. 4. The teachings of humanism. 5. The contribution of Erasmus. 6. The influence of the universities.

CHAPTER VIII

1. The situation in Europe at the dawn of the Reformation. 2. The conceptions of the church held by Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. 3. In what respect did they differ from Roman Catholicism? 4. How did the Reformation affect the people? 5. Religious progress in England and Scotland. 6. The message of the Reformation.

CHAPTER IX

1. Protestantism in France and the Huguenots. 2. Socinianism and Arminianism. 3. The Jesuits and their influence. 4. The Counter-Reformation. 5. Effect of the divisions in Protestantism. 6. The principles of Puritanism.

CHAPTER X

1. The difference between Catholic and Protestant scholasticism. 2. The contributions of science and philosophy. 3. The teachings of Deism. 4. Results of the Evangelical Revival. 5. The social and industrial revolutions. 6. Religion in America.

CHAPTER XI

1. The differences between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. 2. The Enlightenment and its leaders. 3. Ro-

manticism and its interpreters. 4. The Oxford Movement. 5. Religion in England, Scotland, and America. 6. Roman Catholicism and the Eastern Church.

CHAPTER XII

1. The relation of liberty to authority. 2. The reconciling principle in Christianity. 3. The prospects of federation and reunion. 4. The applications of the social gospel. 5. The problem of race relations. 6. The lessons from the study of church history.

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